

California Historical Quarterly

Summer 1973



FRONT COVER: In 1579, English Captain Francis Drake anchored his leaking vessel in "a beautiful and most charming bay"¹ in what is now California. He named the newly discovered land Nova Albion and claimed it for Queen Elizabeth. Here he is depicted in a 1599 drawing, by engraver Theodore de Bry of Frankfurt, as he received a crown from the king of Nova Albion. The king is shown with his honor guard, one of whom has brought two crowns of black feathers and a wooden scepter bedecked with clam shell beads as royal presents for the white visitor, who the Coast Miwoks thought might be a god. In the background, the drawing also shows Drake's original landing of June 21.

INSIDE COVER: The native dwellings are pictured as cone-shaped structures, formed of slabs of redwood bark set on end around a circular dugout.

Attesting to the accuracy of de Bry's illustrations, such as appeared in *Americae, Pars VIII* (Frankfurt, 1599), is his career as an engraver who usually worked from authentic illustrations made by travelers and colonists. In 1587-88 he engraved plates with the mapmaker Jodocus Hondius on the *Mariners Mirror*, and, at the urging of Richard Hakluyt in 1590, he published as *Americae, Pars I*, engravings made from the great John White watercolors of Virginia. Drake's stay in California has been fully authenticated—but the site of his anchorage has baffled historians for generations. For a forceful presentation of one side of this controversy, turn to the article by Robert H. Power, page 100.

1. A. E. Gordon, trans., Theodore de Bry, *Americae, Pars VIII*, quoted in Drake Navigators Guild, *Identification of Sir Francis Drake's Encampment At Point Reyes National Seashore*, 143 (Point Reyes, 1970).

California Historical Quarterly

VOLUME LII • SUMMER 1973 • NO. 2

J. S. HOLLIDAY, *Director*
PAUL C. JOHNSON, *Editor*
MARILYN ZIEBARTH, *Managing Editor*
ROBERT A. WEINSTEIN, *Art Editor*
CHARLES WOLLNBERG, *Review Editor*
ANNA MARIE HAGER, *Editorial Assistant*

PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE
Robert H. Power, *Chairman*; William Bronson, Frank G. Goodall,
Kenneth Lamott, Rodman Paul, Mrs. David Potter, Richard F. Pourade,
Richard Reinhardt



COPYRIGHT 1973 BY THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

California Historical Society

*Founded June 6, 1871
Reorganized March 27, 1922*

STAFF

J. S. Holliday, *Executive Director*; V. B. Gerhart, *Assistant Director*; Michele Simmons, *Secretary*; Nancy Dottenheim, *Staff Assistant*; Business: Joan L. Kerr, *Comptroller*; Community Services and Membership Development: Kare C. Anderson; Exhibits: James C. Woodson, *Curator*; Catherine A. Hoover, *Assistant Curator*; Library: Peter A. Evans, *Librarian*; Lee L. Burtis, *Librarian, Photographs and Genealogy*; Maude K. Swingle (Volunteer), Jay Williar, *Reference Librarians*; Lynn Bonfield Donovan, *Manuscript Librarian*; Joy Berry, *Cataloger*; Public Programs: Renee Grignard; Publications: Paul C. Johnson, *Director*; Marilyn Ziebarth, *Managing Editor*; Charles Jones, *Book Editor*; Buildings and Properties: Colin Oakey, *Manager*; Rediscover America Program: Cynthia Gall; Southern California: Jean Bruce Ward, *Assistant to the Director*; Maedytha DeWolfe, Margaret Eley, *Staff Assistants*.

Honorary Curators: George L. Harding, *Kemble Collections*; Annette Windele, *Assistant*; Mrs. Richard F. Phillips, *Costume Collection*; Florence Vance, *Photographs*.

OFFICERS

John B. Ritchie, *President*
Fred S. Farr,
First Vice-President
Robert H. Power,
Second Vice-President
Mrs. Edward M. Palette,
Third Vice-President
Robert M. Jones, *Treasurer*
J. S. Holliday, *Secretary*

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

For the term expiring 1974

James S. Copley, San Diego
Warren R. Howell, San Francisco
Mrs. Irene Simpson Neasham,
San Francisco
Brian Thompson, Castro Valley
Arthur W. Towne, San Francisco
Anthony J. Zanze, San Francisco

For the term expiring 1975

Robert Banning, Pasadena
Mrs. Francis D. Frost, Jr., Pasadena
Mrs. Preston Hotchkis, San Marino
Robert M. Jones, San Francisco
Mrs. William Longstreth, Santa Barbara

For the term expiring 1976

William Bronson, Berkeley
Royal Robert Bush, Santa Barbara
Fred S. Farr, Carmel
Charles A. Fracchia, San Francisco
W. E. van Löben Sels, Oakville
Rodman W. Paul, Pasadena

For the term expiring 1977

David Fleishhacker, San Francisco
John B. Huntington, Piedmont
Mrs. Edward M. Palette, Los Angeles
Mrs. Bland Platt, San Francisco
Robert H. Power, Nut Tree
Earl Schmidt, Woodside

For the term expiring 1978

Mrs. Maurice Machris, Los Angeles
Thomas V. Reeve, Santa Ana
John B. Ritchie, San Francisco
Albert Shumate, San Francisco
Henry Teichert, Sacramento
Edison Uno, San Francisco

Table of Contents

VOLUME LII • SUMMER 1973 • No. 2

Drake's Landing in California:
A Case for San Francisco Bay
by ROBERT H. POWER

100

The Railroad Reaches California:
Men, Machines, and Cultural Migration
by JOHN H. WHITE, JR.

131

San Francisco Black Churches in the Early 1860's:
Political Pressure Group
by PHILIP M. MONTESANO

145

Charles Warren Stoddard:
The Pleasure of His Company
by BRIAN MCGINTY

153

REVIEWS

Chicano Literature
170

Book Reviews
175

California Check List
184

Book of Remembrance
187



An engraved portrait of Francis Drake was published with the signature "Iodocus Hondius, Flander fecit Londini." The miniature hemispheres are reduced from his famous *Expeditionis Nauticae*, reproduced on pages 112-13. These small hemispheres show Drake reaching 48° north latitude, while the present-known copies of the large map have been corrected to 43° north latitude. This signed print establishes that the *Expeditionis Nauticae* was first issued in London (circa 1589).

Robert H. Power

*Drake scholar and author of several
articles on the controversial site
of Drake's landing.*

Drake's Landing in California: A Case for San Francisco Bay

IN THE SUMMER OF 1579 an English navigator, Captain Francis Drake of the Golden Hinde, landed somewhere on the coast of California and named the region Nova Albion—New England—six years before the founding of the Roanoke Colony in Virginia on the eastern seaboard.

As the 400th anniversary of this significant visit approaches, scholars are re-evaluating the importance of this mission. One of the most long-lasting and intriguing of the puzzles left behind by Drake is the simple question of where he made port and stayed the month that he and his crew remained here. Original records—log, maps, narratives—are non-existent, except for the Plate of Brass found in California in 1936. Determination of his landing site has stimulated scholars for three centuries to examine every scrap of evidence and to deduce the point of debarkation by pyramiding data.

For decades, the landing site has been popularly assumed to be Drakes Bay in Marin County, north of San Francisco. In fact, the state elementary textbooks have favored this hypothesis almost exclusively, and all fourth-graders are taught that Drake did indeed stop off at the bay that now bears his name. However, the evidence supporting this position, though voluminous, is by no means absolute.

From time to time, other ports have been proposed as alternatives to Drakes Bay, but none can match San Francisco Bay as the principal challenger. The arguments for this site have been set forth in the Quarterly before (XXXVI:1 and XLI:3), the last time ten years ago, and now the case is reopened by an assiduous champion of the Bay site, Mr. Robert H. Power, a specialist on the Drake expedition, who has been given editorial assistance on this article by Donald C. Pike.

For some twenty years, Mr. Power has been gathering information on the Bay site and has summarized his findings in articles and lectures. A draft of the essay that follows was presented before the State Historical Landmarks Advisory Committee, at its meeting of April 27, 1973, in which he proposed that a monument be erected to commemorate the entry of Drake into San Francisco Bay. Although the Committee respectfully postponed a decision on his proposal—on the grounds that further studies and hearings were needed—his carefully documented presentation is well worth bringing to public attention.

It is a pleasure to share with the readers of the California Historical Quar-

terly Mr. Power's latest thinking on this controversial topic. Publication of his essay does not reflect an official endorsement on the part of the California Historical Society, however, and space will be reserved in a future issue of the Quarterly for a rejoinder, presented in the form of a debate.

EDITOR



IN DECEMBER, 1577, a fleet of five ships under the command of Captain Francis Drake set sail from Plymouth Sound with a declared destination of Alexandria. The real plan of the voyage which had been formulated in the utmost secrecy was far more ambitious than a wintertime Mediterranean cruise. Queen Elizabeth had given her consent to a bold expedition which would challenge King Phillip's claim that the Pacific Ocean belonged exclusively to the Crown of Spain. The expedition upon entering the Pacific would explore the western shore of America from the Strait of Magellan to the presumed strait of Anian. Beyond the limits of settlement in New Spain in the Northwest corner of North America, the expedition would make a "worthy attempt at discovery" of "very large Forreign Dominions" and search the Strait of Anian for an entrance to the Northwest Passage.¹

There were capital reasons for absolute secrecy as fundamental as life and death. King Phillip's policy of destruction and death to English ships and seamen found "beyond the line" was ruthlessly enforced. Captain Drake had been a victim of the surprise attack by the Viceroy of New Spain on the English fleet harbored at San Juan de Ulloa, Mexico, in 1568, where three ships, including the Queen's, had been destroyed and three hundred English seamen perished from the engagement and its aftermath. Drake, in two expeditions, took up privateering in the Caribbean to "right this wrong." Now it was to be Drake's opportunity to surprise the Spanish in their prize possession—the Pacific Basin.

The voyage plan was a deliberate English challenge to the Papal Bull which had divided the Indies between Spain and Portugal. John Dee, cosmographer to the Queen, had assured her that no nation had title to the seas of the world and that England had rights to North America by virtue of the discovery of John and Sebastian Cabot in the reign of Henry VII. Drake was an indispensable part of the plan because the English loss at San Juan de Ulloa, according to an English theologian, gave Drake a lawful right to privateer against the Spanish crown until the wrong had been fully avenged. Evidently, the Queen did not disagree. This privilege to plunder with his sovereign's consent made it highly likely that Drake and his backers would be "bountifully rewarded" while searching for "newfoundlandes yet alto-geather vnknown"²—providing Drake could surprise the Spanish and return home alive.

A year and a half after leaving Plymouth, the plan had been successfully followed, and now Drake sought refuge on the coast of California to repair

his storm-battered vessel. In the long voyage, he had navigated the Straits of Magellan off the tip of South America, enduring raging storms in Drakes Passage, successfully captured Spanish treasure ships, and futilely sought the Northwest Passage in "vile, thicke, and stinking fogges" off the Oregon coast. After so many months at sea, Drake was in need of a safe harbor in which to careen his lone-surviving and leaking flagship, the *Golden Hinde*.³ The northwest wind, he disappointedly recorded in his journal, had "cut off all hope of finding passage through thoes Northern parts . . . [and] the wind commanded . . . [them] to the Southward."⁴ Drake's course, after restoration of men and ship, would be "towards the fruitfull and ryeche Moluccaes."⁵

On June 17, 1579⁶ Drake sailed his *Golden Hinde* into "a faire and good Baye" near 38° north latitude, which he reconnoitered by small boat for three days before settling on a suitable anchorage and encampment site. In the course of the thirty-six days spent in his California harbor, Drake and his sixty-plus crewmen established a fortress, careened the *Golden Hinde*, repaired her leaking bottom, treated with the Indians, made a short excursion to the interior, and observed the land's flora and fauna. In addition, he erected a brass plate commemorating the arrival of the *Golden Hinde* in the harbor of "Nova Albion," as he chose to call it, and took possession of this discovery for Queen Elizabeth of England. On July 23, Drake weighed anchor and departed the bay, making landfall the following day at the Farallon Islands before continuing across the Pacific on his voyage of circumnavigation.

Such are the bare and essential facts of Drake's presence in Nova Albion—with one notable omission. The actual site of his landing and the identity of the bay in which he moored have been disputed for more than three centuries. Although the landing site is popularly identified with Drakes Bay today, in the opinion of this author, the existing cartographic and archaeological evidence, with supportive data drawn from literary and pictorial records of the voyage which survive, point convincingly to the conclusion that the *Golden Hinde* passed through the Golden Gate and anchored near Point San Quentin on the Marin shore of San Francisco Bay.

The strongest link in the evidential chain supporting this claim is a drawing of Drake's port in Nova Albion that appeared as an inset in a world map published a decade after he returned to England. The extraordinary similarity of the port depicted in this detail to the configurations of the northern shoreline of San Francisco Bay was pointed out by this author in 1954 in an article in *Pacific Discovery*.⁷ In addition to this inset plan, there exists one authentic artifact attesting to Drake's visit—a plate of brass—which was found in 1936 on a hill overlooking the anchorage indicated on the 1589 plan. Buttressing these concrete indications of a landing in San Francisco Bay are the descriptions of Nova Albion found in written accounts of the voyage, especially *The Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake into the South Sea*, and *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake*. These narratives describe a complex of local plant and animal life and an Indian house-type

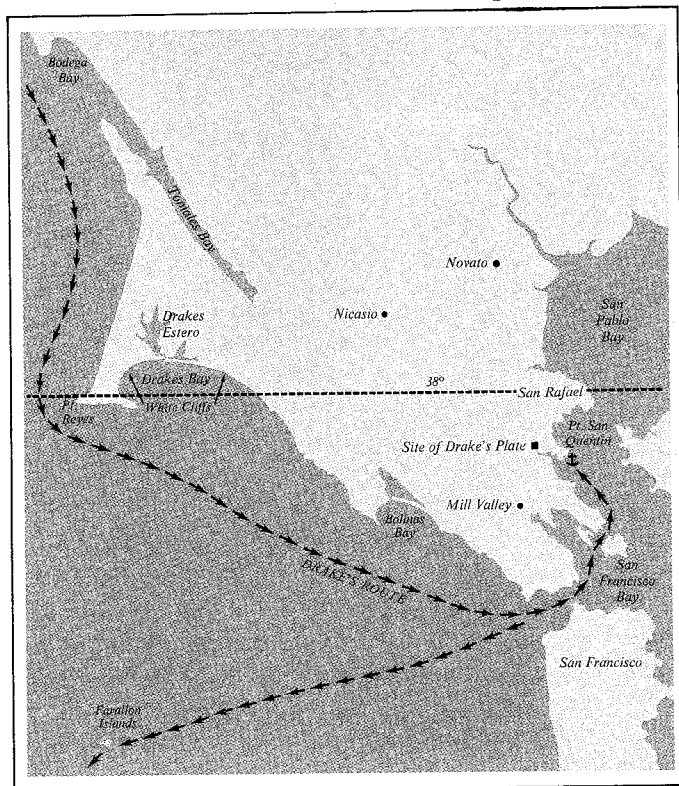
that are characteristic only of the inland region immediately north of the bay. Finally, the time and course of Drake's arrival and departure, including his voyage to the Farallones, are consistent only with an anchorage in San Francisco Bay.

Utilizing all, or part, of the evidence described above, other investigators have sought to place Drake's landing at other bays lying close to the thirty-eighth parallel, including Bodega, Tomales, Drakes, and Bolinas bays. But despite voluminous and energetic efforts—most notably in behalf of a Drakes Bay landing—in no instance has the evidence correlated as strongly, or as thoroughly, as in the case for San Francisco Bay.

The principal key to locating the site of Drake's anchorage is a drawing of his port captioned *Portus Novae Albionis*⁸ (Port of Nova Albion) which appeared as an inset in a map of the world entitled *Vera Totius Expeditionis Nauticae*.⁹ This famous map was issued in London in 1589 by the noted Flemish cartographer, Jodocus Hondius, to commemorate the voyages of Cavendish and Drake.¹⁰ In compiling his map, it is likely that Hondius drew upon the most authoritative sources available: namely, Drake's official narrative, logbook, and maps of the voyage, presumably sequestered for safe keeping in the Tower of London. Access to this "classified" material would doubtless have been through the Queen's Keeper of Records in the tower, Thomas Talbot, who was associated with Hondius in at least one known venture in 1589. The men had collaborated that year on an engraving depicting the Tudor genealogy, and it seems reasonable to assume that Talbot may well have made available to the cartographer the records of Drake's voyage that the navigator had presented to the Queen upon his return and that had probably been kept in the Queen's secret archives under his custodianship.¹¹ In the light of this possibility, the map assumes considerable authority as a secondary cartographic source regarding Drake's landing site.

Hondius' *Portus Novae Albionis* plan of Drake's anchorage depicts an island closely paralleling a peninsula, and a sharply defined bay. A cartographic comparison of this plan with the geography of northern San Francisco Bay near Point San Quentin¹² reveals similarities which transcend coincidence. The shape of the island in the *Portus* plan corresponds directly to Belvedere Island, matching it ripple and curve down to the concave shoreline on the peninsular side of its sharp point. Similarly, the *Portus* plan peninsula is matched by present-day Tiburon Peninsula in shape, proportion, and alignment with Belvedere. *Portus Novae Albionis* also depicts an arching shoreline from the base of the peninsula across the upper reaches of the bay just past a small point much like the shoreline from Corte Madera to Point San Pedro.

From this point the *Portus* plan scribes a straight shoreline across what a comparative map shows to be the Straits of San Pablo and continues back down the opposite eastern shore, describing four obvious points of land. On a present-day map these swells of land correspond to Points San Pablo.



This schematic map shows the sequence of Drake's arrival, discovery, and departure from San Francisco Bay, as reconstructed from the evidence amassed by Robert H. Power. Map by John Beyer.

Molate, Castro, and Richmond. The distance between the *Portus* peninsula and the opposite shore is proportionally similar to the distance between Tiburon and Point Richmond.

Within the scope of this physical comparison, three apparent inconsistencies require explanation: *Portus Novae Albionis*' omission of Point San Quentin and of Angel Island, and the abrupt shoreline which takes the place of the Straits of San Pablo. These apparent errors may be explained by one not unlikely assumption, however: that the original plan was sketched from the *Golden Hinde* between June 17 and 21 while the ship lay at anchor in the lee of Angel Island. From this anchorage, often used by early navigators, the small point of San Quentin is reduced to insignificance by the intervening steep slopes of Tiburon and a distance of 5.5 nautical miles. Similarly, Point San Pedro is 7 nautical miles away, and the apparent horizon from the forty-two-foot crow's nest would be 8.2 nautical miles—or just beyond the Straits of San Pablo. Thus the representation of a non-existent shoreline just beyond the points corresponding to Points San Pedro and San Pablo would seem correct to a ship-bound artist. From this location, too, Angel Island would lie behind the artist and therefore would be omitted. It is worthy of note that in the inset drawing in the opposite corner, the artist's depiction of another port on Drake's route (Java), likewise showed only what he could have seen in an 180° arc from shipboard. This port is on an estuary and the artist's back was to a shoreline opposite from the one shown in the drawing.



Orig. size: 6.7 x 3.7 cm. Power Collection

The "Nova Albion Rex," patterned after de Bry, is one of four decorative panels of ports and people found in the New World map engraved by Jodocus Hondius II, *America Novite Delineata* (Amsterdam, ca. 1623). This became one of the most famous maps published in the 17th century, making the "King of Nova Albion" one of the celebrated personages in the New World.

In this instance, he also omitted what lay behind him. The minor islands in San Francisco Bay such as Red Rock and the Marin Islands are too small to mark on the inset, being no larger by scale to the other features than a pin head. The minor islands in the Mollucae inset on the Hondius map are similarly not depicted.

Although the *Portus Novae Albionis* plan is not strictly a map, but, rather, a cartographic view, the instances

of similarity between the geography of the north bay and the representation of the *Portus* plan are too numerous to ignore. At the same time, the *Portus Novae Albionis* does not reflect, in any real measure, the geography of the other sites proposed as Drake's anchorage in Nova Albion.¹³

Probably the most dramatic piece of evidence in the Drake's landing site controversy involves the Plate of Brass, a plaque which the explorer erected to commemorate his presence in Nova Albion and claim the land for England. In *The World Encompassed* the circumstances of the plate's erection are described:

Before we went from thence, our generall caused to be set vp, a monument of our being there; as also of her maiesties, and successors right and title to that kingdome, namely, a plate of brasse, fast nailed to a great and firme post; whereon is engraven her graces name, and the day and yeare of our arriuall there, and of the free giving vp, of the prouince and kingdome, both by the king and people, into her maiesties hands; together with her highness picture, and armes in a piece of sixpence currant English monie, shewing it selfe by a hole made of purpose through the plate: vnderneath was likewise engrauen the name of our generall, &c.¹⁴

The plaque's whereabouts remained unknown until 1936 when it was discovered on a Greenbrae ridge overlooking the south face of Point San Quentin by a young man who climbed a hill looking for a place to relax after changing a flat tire.¹⁵ Chiseled into the plate was the following text:

BEE IT KNOWNE VNTO ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS IVNE, 17, 1579. BY THE GRACE OF GOD AND IN THE NAME OF HERR MAJESTY QVEEN ELIZABETH OF ENGLAND AND HERR SVCESSORS FOREVER I TAKE POSSESSION OF THIS KIN DOME WHOSE KIND AND PEOPLE FREELY RESIGNE THEIR RIGHT AND TITLE IN THE WHOLE LAND VNTO HERR MAJESTIES KEEPEING NOW NAMED BY ME AN TO BE KNOWNE VNTO ALL MEN AS NOVA ALBION. FRANCIS DRAKE.¹⁶

This plate, the only physical evidence of Drake's presence in California, has

been proven authentic by metallurgical and historical tests,¹⁷ including the discovery of mineralized plant cells in the area of the "sixpence" hole.

Of relevance here is the fact that the Plate of Brass was discovered in an area which correlates with the site of Drake's fort as located in the *Portus Novae Albionis* plan. The Plate of Brass site, then, would seem to fit the pattern of evidence initiated by the *Portus* plan. It has been alleged that the Plate of Brass was originally found in 1933 near Drakes Bay on the coast by a William Caldiera and subsequently discarded as worthless in the vicinity of the Shinn discovery.¹⁸ This claim is questionable, however, considering that there is conflicting testimony over where Caldiera tossed his piece of metal, that the closest possible point of discard was over one-half mile from the Shinn discovery site, and that Shinn did not find the plate lying on the ground but, instead, pulled the Plate of Brass free from the ground after moving a rock.¹⁹ Although there can be no guarantee that Drake's marker was not moved over the centuries by man, either Indian or white, there is strong likelihood that the Plate of Brass was found at, or near the site where Drake originally erected it.

Questions about Drake's thirty-six-day encampment in Nova Albion could surely be resolved by an examination of the original journal of his voyage, but the manuscript unfortunately has been lost, the apparent casualty of Elizabethan diplomacy. Drake's voyage had infuriated Don Bernardin Mendoza, Spain's ambassador to England, and Elizabeth diplomatically decided the less written about Drake, the better. Even after Mendoza's ignominious departure from England in 1583, this policy of silence remained in effect until after the defeat of the Armada in the summer of 1588.

Accordingly, Drake's huge hoard of silver bullion, captured north of Peru, was secured in the Tower of London, and the Queen most likely placed the log, journals, maps, and illustrations in her secret personal archives, also in the tower. The records then disappeared, and whether they were lost or destroyed by chance or decision, history does not record. In the absence of primary documents, historians concerned with the Drake voyage have had to rely on two closely related, though maddeningly imprecise, secondary narratives of the voyage written long after Drake's return to England.

The earliest published account appeared in 1589 as an insert in Richard Hakluyt's *The Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake into the South Sea*.²⁰ The second account to appear in print, entitled *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake*, was apparently written a few years after Drake's return to England but it was not published until 1628, thirty-nine years after the Richard Hakluyt version. For information on the visit in Nova Albion both accounts relied heavily on the narrative of Francis Fletcher, preacher of the *Hinde*, the pertinent part of whose manuscript has never been located.

Because of this common heritage, *The World Encompassed* and *The Famous Voyage* offer a collaborative, if somewhat repetitive, portrait of Nova

Albion. Both give frustratingly limited descriptions of the bay. The discussions of the Indians are an anthropological gold mine, however, and on the basis of the Indian words remembered by the crew, two scholars, Robert F. Heizer and William Elmendorff, have been able to identify the tribes as Coast Miwoks. However, this authoritative study, published in 1942²¹, proves only that Drake landed somewhere in the region of present Marin or southern Sonoma counties.

Although the narratives on the voyage are vague on some points crucial to identification of the moorage site, both (especially *The World Encompassed*) nevertheless contain descriptions of local flora and fauna that substantiate and complement the conclusion indicated by the geographic similarities between the *Portus Novae Albionis* plan and northern San Francisco Bay.

According to these accounts, shortly before Drake's departure from Nova Albion at the end of July, 1579, he took a small company of men on an excursion inland "to be better acquainted with the nature and commodities of the country." As reported in *The World Encompassed*, the party found the inland to be

"farre different from the Shoare, a goodly country, and fruitfull soyle, stored with many blessings fit for the vse of man: infinite was the company of very large and fat Deere which we sawe by thousands, as we supposed, in a heard; besides a multitude of a strange kinde of Conies, by farr exceeding them in number: their heads and bodies, in which they resemble other Conies, are but small; his tayle, like the tayle of a Rat, exceedingly long; and his feet like the paws of a Want or moale; vnder his chinne, on either side, he hath a bagge, into which he gathereth his meate, when he hath filled his belly abroad, that he may with it, either feed his young, or feed himselfe when he lests not to trauaile from his burrough; the people eat their bodies, and make great account of their skinnnes, for their kings holidiaies coate was made of them."²²

The Famous Voyage, while offering a briefer discourse, compares the animals to "Barbarie Conies."²³

The textual description of the "strange kinde of Conies" strongly suggests the present-day California ground squirrel (*Citellus beecheyi*), with its distinct storing of food in pouches which enlarge when full and its habitual ranging for food. To the men of Drake's party, this small creature which sought both food and shelter on the ground would seem unlike the tree-climbing squirrels of their native England, and, hence, they could compare it to the Barbary cony which they had encountered in their travels and which also found protection and livelihood on the ground. The California Academy of Sciences (quite apart from any consideration of Drake) has likewise singled out the Barbary cony and the California ground squirrel as exemplar of the parallel development of distantly-related mammals living in similar, though geographically dispersed, environments.²⁴ California ground squirrels, it must be noted, inhabit the warm hillside and valleys around San Francisco Bay, but not the immediate ocean coast such as that near Drakes Bay.

The "very large and fat Deere" Drake reported to be grazing "by thousands" were undoubtedly tule elk which were common to all of Marin County. The observed existence of large numbers of elk becomes crucial to identification of the "Conies" as ground squirrels. According to Dr. Starker Leopold of the University of California, in a statement made to this author in conference, "a multitude" or "thousands" of ground squirrels was not an expected phenomenon in pre-Hispanic California. A university study explains that these little mammals only multiply to epidemic numbers in areas where farming or over-grazing has destroyed the land's grass cover. Dr. Leopold observed, however, that the reported large herds of tule elk in the valleys north of San Rafael could have over-grazed and broken the turf with their hoofs, thereby permitting great numbers of ground squirrels to cohabit the area, in the same way that bison herds made possible large population concentrations of prairie dogs. Since ground squirrels do not inhabit the immediate Pacific coast, the ecological phenomenon of the coexisting ground squirrels and elk—which Preacher Fletcher recorded for posterity—not only supports a San Francisco Bay landing, but seemingly eliminates the possibility that Drake explored the western portion of Marin County inland from Drakes Bay.

Partisans of a landing at Drakes Bay have argued that the "Conie" described in *The World Encompassed* and *The Famous Voyage* was the Botta pocket gopher,²⁵ which is common both to coastal and inland regions. The shortcomings of this analysis are threefold. The Botta pocket gopher is a shy, predominately nocturnal creature which remains in its burrow much of the time. This characteristic would make it unlikely that observers would see even one, much less "a multitude" or "thousands" of the creatures. Secondly, the gopher is as common on the ocean shore as it is "up in the countrey," a factor which violates the text's implication that the "Conies" inhabited a different life zone from the one in which Drake careened the *Golden Hinde*. Thirdly, the gopher does not have a tail "exceedingly long" which was part of the description given of the Nova Albion cony.

Textual observations on plant life, as well as animal life, support a San Francisco Bay anchorage site. In *The World Encompassed*, for instance, the narrator remarks "how vnhandsome and deformed appeared the face of the earth it selfe! shewing trees without leaues, and the ground without greenes in those moneths of Iune and Iuly."²⁶ This description usually applies to the San Pablo shore by late July, when the grass has already turned brown and the buckeye trees are beginning to turn yellow and lose their leaves. It does not describe the summertime appearance of the land to the west of the slopes facing San Francisco and San Pablo bays.

At another point in *The World Encompassed* narrative, mention is made of a ceremonial headpiece worn by the Indians that was "couered ouer with a certaine downe, which groweth vp in the countrey vpon an herbe much like our lectuce; which exceeds any other downe in the world for finenesse."²⁷

Continued on page 116



Drake's Mission

Francis Drake set out to solve one of the unanswered geographical riddles of his age: Was America sufficiently separated from Asia and the Arctic lands to allow ships to pass to and fro between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans?

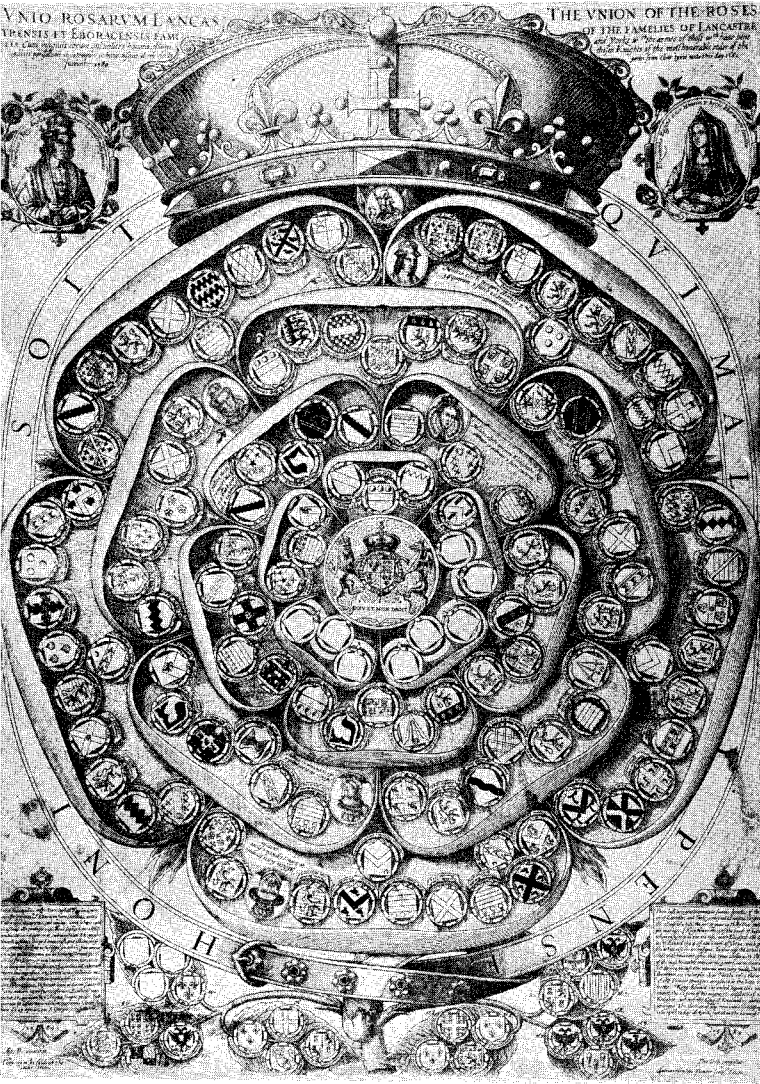
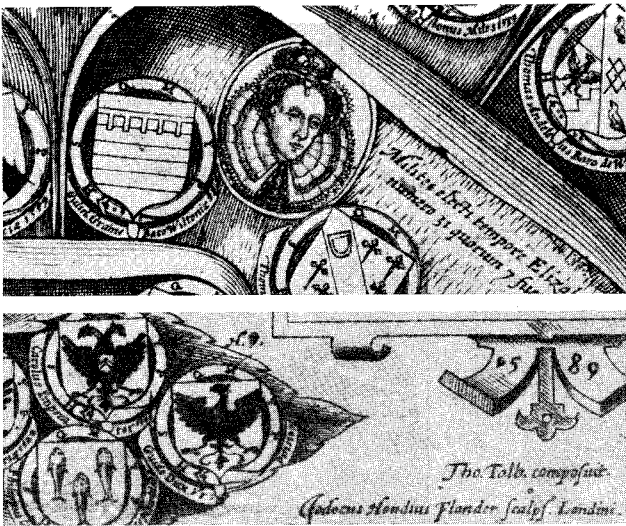
The presumed strait between America and Asia, named the Strait of Anian, was popularized by a 1566 map of North America by Bolognino Zaltieri, of which the map above is a close copy. However, Zaltieri's depiction of such a narrow passage was criticized, principally by Richard Willes in an essay especially imprinted for Drake under the patronage of the Earl of Bedford (Drake's godfather). In part, he wrote of this map:

I say in Anian Gulfe, if it were so narrow as Don Diego and Zalterius have paynted it out, any returne that way to be ful of difficulties, in respect of much streictnes thereof.

The dangers implicit in this map coupled with the warning by Willis may have contributed to a decision by Drake to abandon the quest for the Strait of Anian and the Northwest Passage beyond and to return instead to England by seeking Magellan's route around the world.

Although Drake abandoned his search for the Northwest Passage, he did discover a "very large Forrein Dominion" on the Northwest coast of America which he named Nova Albion.

This portrait of "Elizabeth Reg." (right) is a detail from the elaborate visual genealogy known as the "Talbot Rose" of 1589 (below) which depicted the likenesses and arms of the families of Lancaster and York. Executors of the intricate engraving were "Tho[mas] Talb[ot] composuit" and "Jodocus Hondius Flander Sculps." (see signatures right). Talbot was the Keeper of the Records in the Tower of London in 1589 and through the engraving is known to have been a close associate of Hondius.



OVERLEAF: The *Vera Totius Expeditionis Nauticae* map of the world by cartographer Jodocus Hondius [London, 1589] contains in its upper lefthand corner a plan of the *Portus Nova Albionis* which this author believes is the first published map of the San Francisco Bay, Belvedere Island, Tiburon, San Rafael, and Richmond areas.

Deſcriptio D. Franc. Draci qui 5. navibus probe instructis, ex Anglia solvens 17 Decembris pariter flammis, pariter fluctibus correptis, in Angliam rediit 27 Septembris Angli, qui eundem Draci cursum ferre tenuit etiam ex Anglia per universum orbem quinto Septembris 1588. in patriam portum Plimmouth, unde prius exierat.



Non immerito, unde latet, formam navis & Dyvis
hinc infra tabula adjuungi pulverintus. novum rina
rietur potius, non solum hujus magnitudine, nisi: sed
et de hunc rina speciem, in stipulam esse, angust potius
et aere & angust est. potius tantum iter potius sit.
admissionem, & p. mullierum Germanicorum.
Struere in dextra rinaum navis illa, perperam
novum rina, & dextra ad dextra, rina.

IONIS NAVTICA

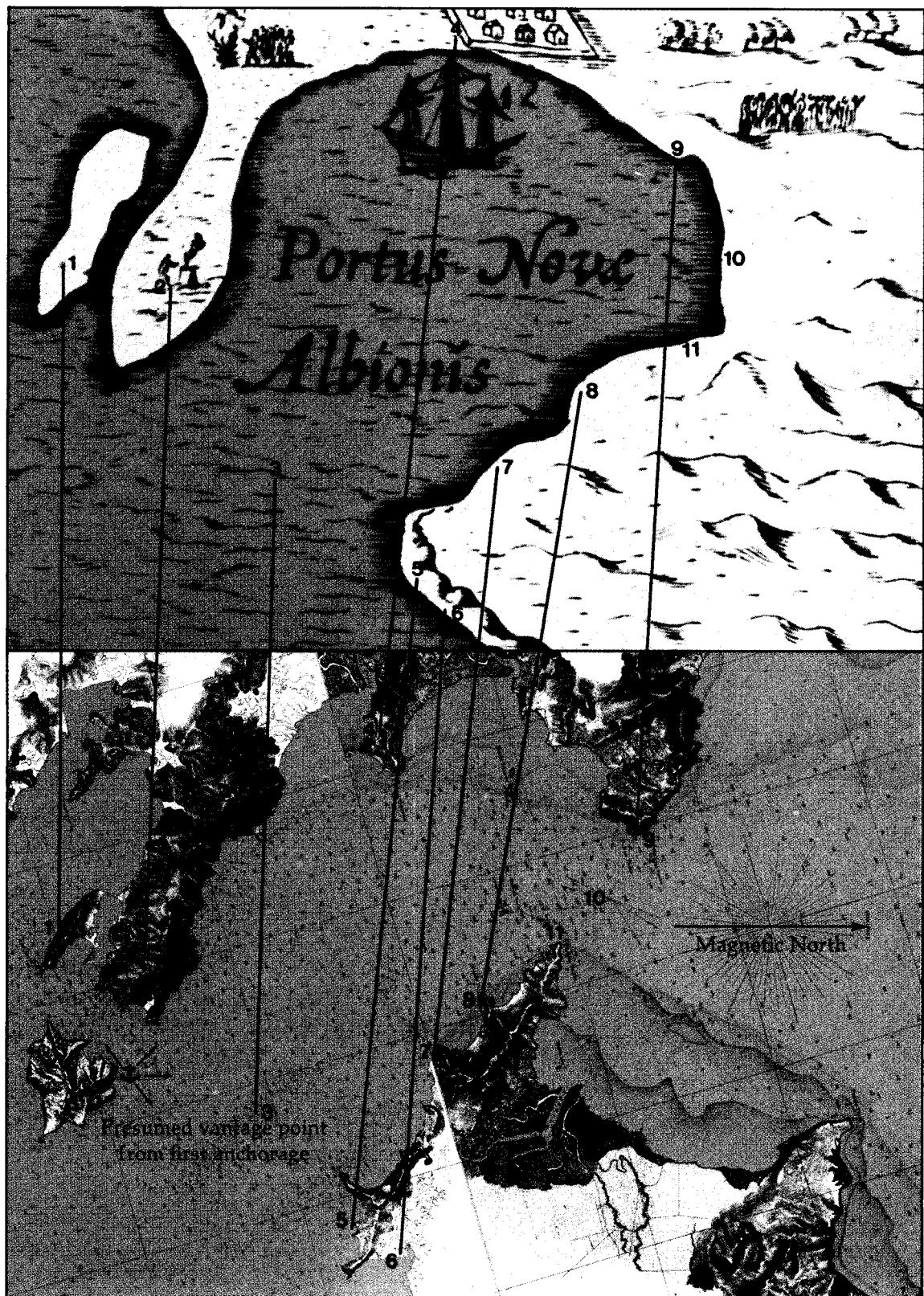
arum orbis ambitum circumnavigans, unica tantum navi, ingenti cum gloria,
 DITA est etiam viva delineatio navigationis Thomae Caundish nobilis
 et temporis spacio: vigesimo primo enim Julij 1586 navem confecit, et decimo
 cum omnium admiratione reversus est.

Iudocus Hondius.



Reproduced from contemporary color copy, approximately 54 x 38 cm., in the Robert H. Power Collection. © Power Graphic

ELEVEN POINTS OF COMPARISON
 BETWEEN 1589 HONDIUS PLAN OF PORTUS NOVAE ALBIONIS
 AND NORTHERN SAN FRANCISCO BAY

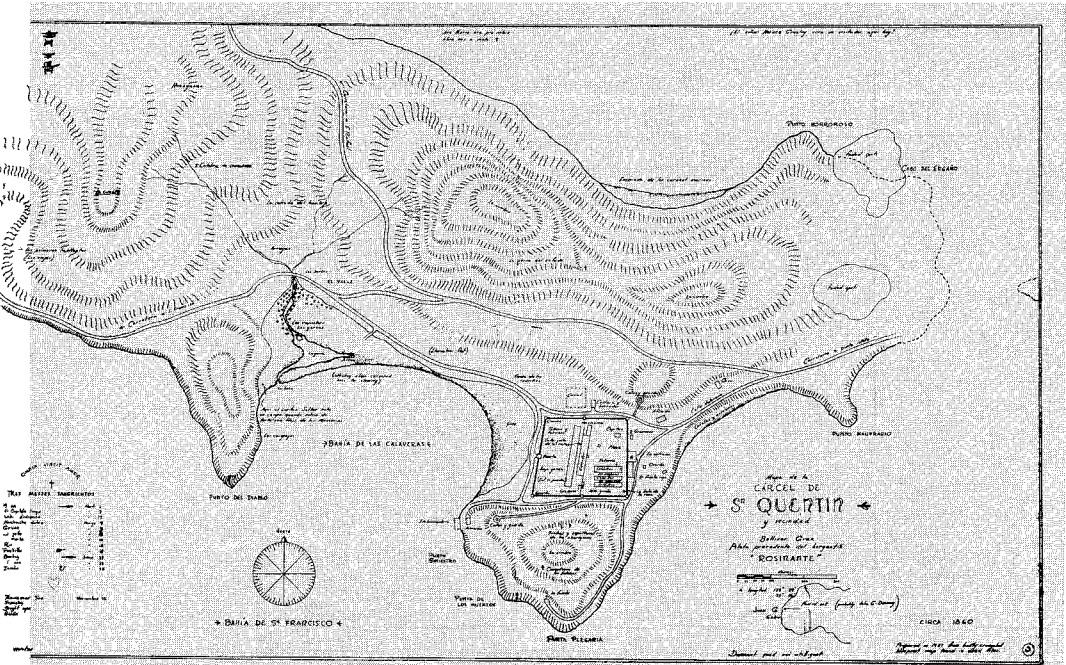


The Cartographic Evidence

The principal cartographic evidence linking Drake to San Francisco Bay is the *Portus Novae Albionis*, an insert view which appeared in the top left corner of Jodocus Hondius' *Expeditionis Nauticae* map of the world in 1589 (shown on the previous two pages). The Portus Plan is reproduced at the left in comparison with an 1856 U.S. Geological Survey map of northern San Francisco Bay. As this comparison shows, the similarities between the two maps are remarkable, ruling out any reasonable possibility of coincidence.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Portus Island | 1. Belvedere Island |
| 2. High Point of Portus Peninsula | 2. Ridge line of Tiburon Peninsula |
| 3. Center Point in Portus between Portus Peninsula and bluffs opposite | 3. Center Point in Bay between Tiburon Peninsula and Point Richmond |
| 4. Drake careenage site | 4. Careenage site used for whaling vessels in early days |
| 5. Point and Bluffs | 5. Bluffs of Point Richmond |
| 6. Return of shore | 6. Return of Richmond shore toward Albany |
| 7. Point | 7. Molate Point |
| 8. Point | 8. Castro Point |
| 9. Point | 9. Point San Pedro |
| 10. Presumed horizontal line | 10. Strait of San Pablo |
| 11. Point | 11. Point San Pablo |

Further cartographic evidence is supplied by the map reproduced below, a view drawn by a Mexican sea captain in about 1860. The map shows detail of the old anchorage at Point San Quentin. It is particularly interesting for its depiction of an old Indian village not far from where "whaling ships careened"—a camp roughly three-quarters of a mile from a probable fort, which is the distance reported in the *World Encompassed* for the nearest Indian village.



Though hardly an exhaustive description, the reference to down strongly suggests that the plant was American milkweed. This weed exudes a white milk-like sap from the stem when broken, in much the same manner as lettuce and produces a supremely fine down during late July in the warm valleys north of San Rafael. Or at least it did, until dairy ranchers exterminated the plant as a danger to livestock.



Several other descriptive passages from the narrative have been used by some scholars to argue that San Francisco Bay could not have been Drake's anchorage. Careful examination and interpretation of these excerpts concerning geography and weather, however, reveal that they do not conflict with the evidence for a bay landing already presented.

In *The Famous Voyage* it is stated that

our generall called this Countrey *Nova Albion*, and that for two causes: the one in respect of the white bankes and cliffes, which lie toward the sea: and the other, because it might have some affinitie with our Countrey in name, which sometime was so called.²⁸

In this two-part explanation for the naming of the port, the first reason has an important bearing on the case for a San Francisco Bay moorage. The "white banks and cliffes" are unquestionably those of Point Reyes, and the textual association of the cliffs is "toward the sea," in other words, not in the port itself. Admittedly, an anchorage at Drakes Estero would meet these criteria since it would lie just north of the white cliffs. On the other hand, in no sense does this disqualify San Francisco Bay as a moorage site, for no one can dispute the fact that the white cliffs do indeed lie "toward the sea" from San Francisco Bay. Parenthetically, it would seem that if the party had actually stayed in Drakes Estero that the phrasing in the narrative would more properly have referred to the cliffs being "within the bay," or "near our anchorage."

The phrase "toward the sea" does disqualify at least one previously proposed anchorage site. In 1890, the geographer George Davidson concluded that the moorage was within the sheltering arm of Point Reyes. At this site, however, the white cliffs would have been east of and fully visible from the anchorage. This geographical fact has contributed to the Drake Navigators Guild's opinion that the only possible anchorage at Drakes Bay was north, i.e., "behind" the white cliffs in Drakes Estero. Thus, the "traditional" Drakes Bay argument has been rejected by most Drake researchers since the mid-1950's.

In addition, the very naming of the port and the land for the white cliffs disqualifies two other ports that have been seriously proposed in the past, Bodega and Tomales bays. Both of these inlets lie north of the white cliffs and would thus not have been seen at all if the party had debarked at either

site. In short, naming the port for the white cliffs could only have been done *after* the ship had sailed past them.

Proponents of a Drakes Bay landing have cited another passage, one which reports a fortnight of limited visibility, in support of their case. The section, this time from *The World Encompassed*, reads: "Neither could we at any time in whole fourteene days together, find the aire so cleare as to be able to take the height of Sunne or starre."²⁹ While it is true that an extended period of limited visibility in July is typical of the coast and not of the bay region, prolonged spells of overcast are not unknown in the bay area. In fact, weather station records for San Francisco showed a period of fifteen consecutive days of morning overcast as recently as the summer of 1962.

An incidental point may well be made that the "fourteene days" coincides precisely with the fourteen days' voyage (June 3-17) through miserable weather from Oregon south to the Port of Nova Albion. It is not impossible to conceive that this particular stretch of bad weather may have occurred during the time that the party was sailing down the coast.

The text of *The World Encompassed* also includes a long reflective statement about the cold weather of Nova Albion, which is seemingly antagonistic to the San Francisco Bay argument. But upon making the open sea after departure, *The World Encompassed* reports, "the extremity of the cold not only continued but increased . . . the wind blowing still [as it did at first] from the Northwest. . . ."³⁰ Quite likely, the *Golden Hinde* was reentering the more severe coastal climate after a pause within the relative shelter of the port of Nova Albion.

Further evidence for a San Francisco Bay landing may be found in an illustration depicting the crowning of Drake by the Indians which was executed and published in Amsterdam in 1671 by Arnold Montanus.³¹

The topography in the background of this scene shows a striking similarity to northern San Francisco Bay as viewed from near the site where Beryle Shinn found the Plate of Brass. From the seventeenth-century cavalier costumes on Drake and his men, it might be assumed the entire Montanus illustration was the product of a fertile imagination, and the topographic similarity therefore an amusing coincidence. However, Arnold Montanus was the grandson of the partner and brother-in-law of Jodocus Hondius; his grandmother (Hondius' sister) was an authoress and a favorite of Queen Elizabeth.³² Montanus, therefore, was the intellectual and physical heir of the man who created the *Portus Novae Albionis* and could very well have had Hondius' notes and sketchbooks from that project. His grandmother, because of her favored position in the Elizabethan court, may very well have seen Drake's official portfolio from the voyage and left other written records which Montanus would have inherited. This dual heritage leads to the impelling speculation that Montanus had a concrete source for his drawing and that the illustration is an accurate depiction of the port of Nova Albion.

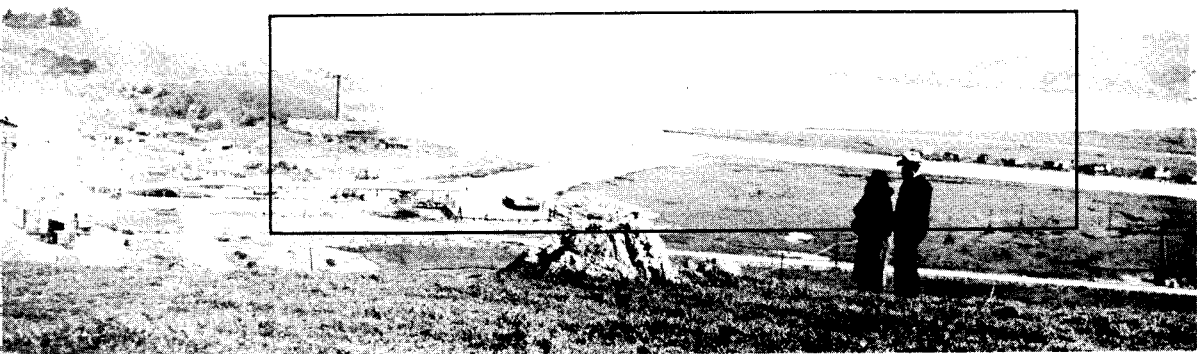
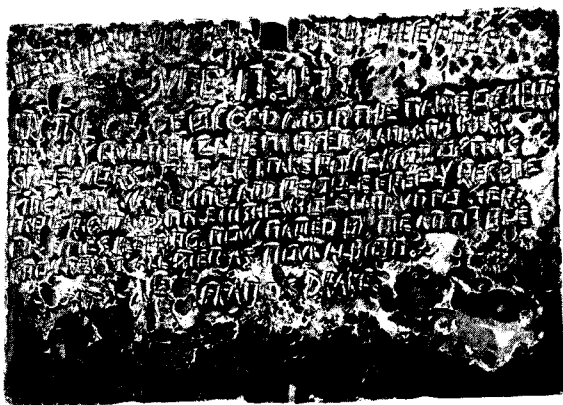
Continued on page 122



The Plate of Brass

Before Drake left the bay in which he had anchored, he “caused to be set up,” in the words of *The World Encompassed*, “a monument of our being there . . . namely, a plate of brasse fast nailed to a great and firme post. . . .” Johan-Theodore de Bry depicted the event in this portion of an engraving (left), published in *America . . .* (1617), of the crowning of Drake by the King of Nova Albion.

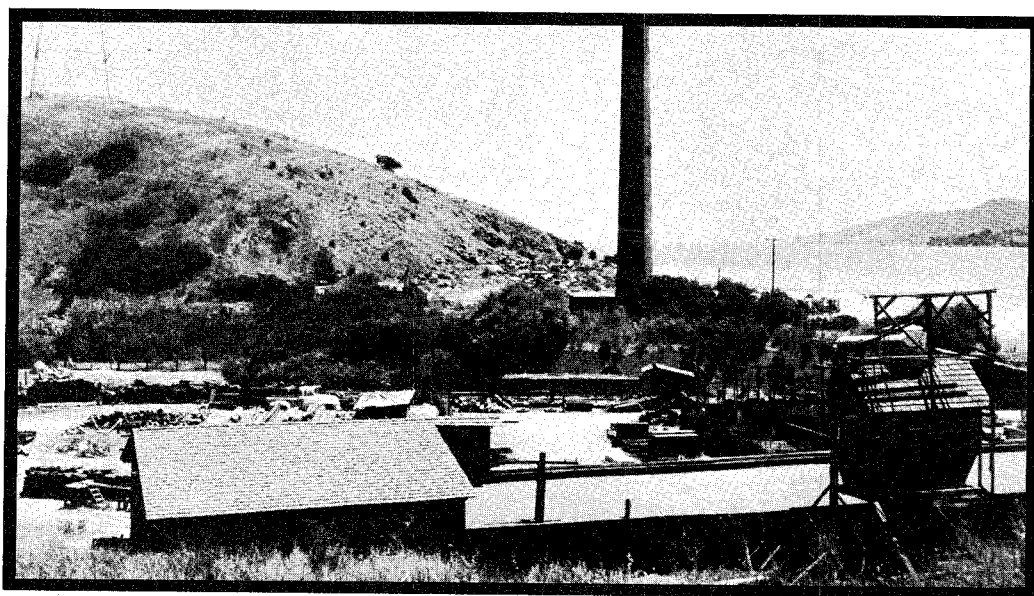
The plate was found 357 years later (1936) on a hillside in Marin County. It is the oldest public document in the English language written in the Western Hemisphere. Mineralized plant cells “embedded in the patina of the coin groove” established the plate as at least a hundred years old when it was discovered.



Beryle Shinn found the long-missing Plate of Brass on a Greenbrae ridge overlooking the south face of Point San Quentin (above). It was half-buried in the ground below the far side of the outcrop of rock in the center of the picture. The outlined area in the photograph corresponds to the close-up shown on the following page.



Robert H. Power Collection

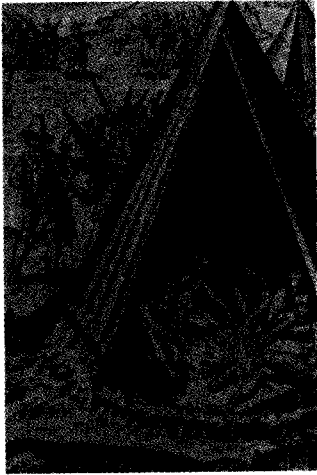


Robert H. Power Collection

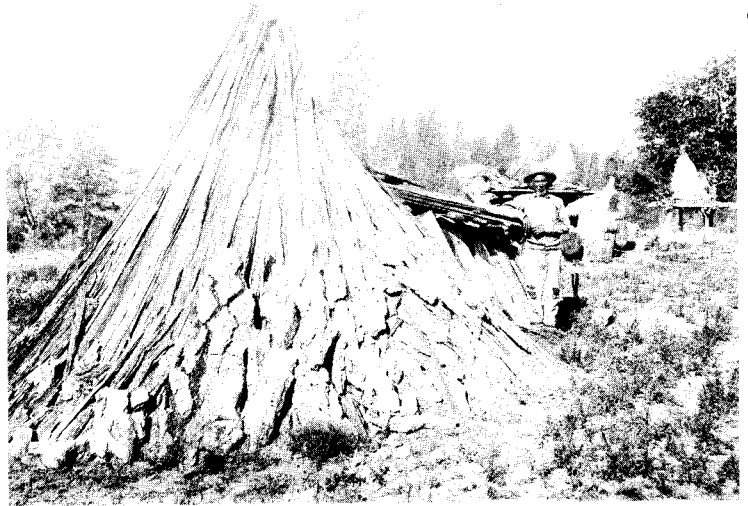
The illustration (top), showing Francis Drake being crowned by the California Indians, was published in Amsterdam by Arnold Montanus in 1671. The geographic features in the drawing bear a startling resemblance to those of the Point San Quentin area shown in the photograph immediately above, which was taken from a position about half-way between the spot where the plate was discovered and a safe carenage site off San Quentin Point (left).

The Evidence of the Countryside

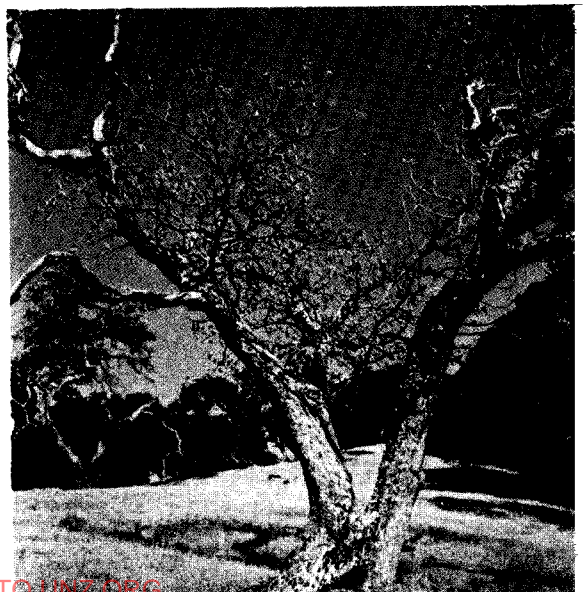
In order to become "better acquainted with the nature and commodities of the country," Drake led a small exploring party into the California countryside before departing his anchorage. What the expedition discovered provides further support for a landing site on northern San Francisco Bay.

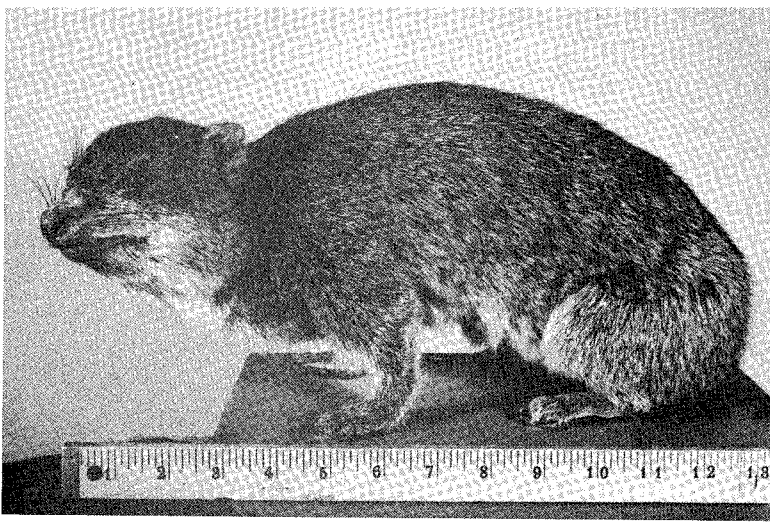


Depiction of native dwellings shows form common to Miwok tribe.



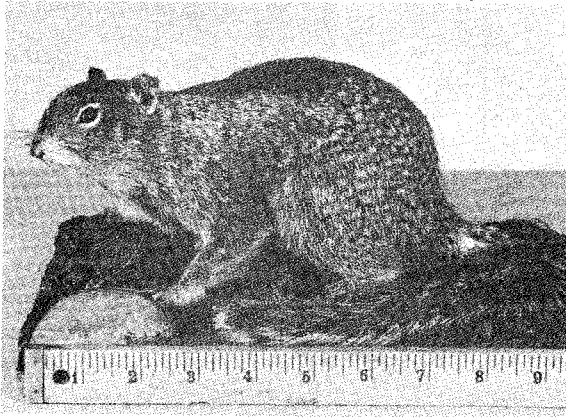
Drake's chronicler noted that the Indians' houses were dug into the earth and covered with slabs of bark, joined together at the top "like the spires on the steeple," a precise description of the Miwok redwood-bark structures found in Marin. There was easy access to redwood trees in what is now Mill Valley and also in the Sierra in historic times, as shown in the photo above. By contrast, the dwellings of the Miwok Indians living on the coast of Marin were described by a near-contemporary of Drake's, Sebastian Cermeño, as "underground habitations resembling caves."





LEFT: "Barbarie Conie" or hyrax.
BELOW LEFT: California ground squirrel (*citellus beecheyi douglasii*);

California Academy of Sciences



Among the animals noted in *The World Encompassed* were California ground squirrels, very like the "Barbarie Conie," existing with large herds of tule elk, a combination that could only have existed in the valleys north of San Rafael. Continuing, Drake's party encountered "a multitude of a strange kind of Conies . . . their heads and bodies, in which they resemble other Conies, are but small; his tayle, like the tayle of a Rat, exceeding long . . ."

The explorers also spied a "certain downe, which groweth up in the country upon an herb much like our lettuce. . ." which was probably the American milkweed that once grew in the valleys immediately west of San Pablo Bay.



Noted the journal . . . "how unhandsome and deformed appeared the face of the earth it self! shewing trees without leaves, and the ground without greenes in those moneths of June and July," an apt description of the early autumn of buckeye trees and summer-browned grass, common in the terrain on the San Pablo Bay shore (near-left photo taken near Novato) but not in the valleys closer to the outer coast of Marin (far-left photo taken near Nicasio). In the hollow at the base of the buckeye tree is the entrance to a ground squirrel burrow. Both photos were taken by the author on the last day of July.

Additional support for this speculation was brought forward recently by Alex Cummings, curator of Drake's ancestral home, Buckland Abbey. Cummings identified the coat of arms on the right side of the banner in the illustration as that of the City of Plymouth, from whose port Drake first sailed. Cummings maintains that this detail must have been taken from actual voyage records, as it is an unlikely display of arms for an artist to have conjured up in the 1670's.

Another point in favor of the San Francisco Bay anchorage revolves around the kind of dwellings occupied by the Indians. The description in *The World Encompassed* is quite specific. The Indian houses were "digged around within the earth, and have from the vppermost brimmes of the circle clefts of wood set up and ioyned close togeather at the top, like the spires on the steeple of a church, which being covered with earth, suffer no water to enter, and are very warme, the doore in the most part of them performes the office also of a chimney to let out smoake."

This account accurately describes a typical conical, redwood-bark Miwok house as found in Marin and also in the Sierra in historic times. The illustration of one in Theodore DeBry's *Americae, Pars VIII*, shows mud covering up approximately two feet of a tepce-style dwelling, just as recorded later in ethnological reports on the Miwok published by Powers.³³ More recently, a report entitled *Contributions to the Archaeology of Point Reyes National Seashore: A Compendium in Honor of Adan E. Treganza* (San Francisco State College, 1970, page 78) recorded 1932-33 interviews conducted with Coast Miwok Indians who were familiar with Indian life in the Point Reyes region. The subjects reported that "Four or five men used to get redwood bark to cover a house. Got to go up in hills. Peel off the bark with a sharp stick. Pack it back. *There were just three or four houses like that around here.* [Italics are the author's]. It was better than grass; better than tule."

If such structures were rare in the Point Reyes area in modern times, they were even scarcer in Drake's time, for only sixteen years after Drake sailed away from California, a Spanish captain Sebastian Rodriquez Cermeño, wrecked his vessel in Drakes Bay and remained there for thirty-two days. In his *Declaration* of 1595 (see Henry R. Wagner's *Spanish Voyages*), Cermeño described the houses as "underground habitations . . . resembling caves" and, in a secondary account, as "resembling low caves."³⁴ This is in total conflict with Drake's account which described the habitations as conical in form.

It is also noteworthy that Cermeño's *Declaration* makes no allowance for the previous presence of Europeans in the area. In his journal, he recorded that the Indians showed "great fright in seeing people they had never seen before."³⁵

Another bit of buttressing evidence is found in an old map of Point San Quentin that was discovered at San Quentin Prison.³⁶ The map, drawn circa 1860 by a Spanish sea captain, shows an Indian village roughly three-quarters of a mile from a presumed location of Drake's careenage site. The existence

of a nearby Indian camp is consistent with statements in *The World Encompassed* which indicate that the nearest encampment was three-quarters of a mile distant.³⁷

Far more interesting is the map's notation, at a point which corresponds to Drake's campsite on the Portus plan, that "whaling ships careened here for cleaning." This substantiates that the site of the *Golden Hinde* carenage, indicated by a comparison of northern San Francisco Bay and the Portus plan, was not only plausible, but favorable. Historically, no sailing ship is known to have been careened at Drakes Bay or inside Drakes Estero; in contrast, this map provides hard evidence that ocean-going ships were careened at Point San Quentin.



Additional evidence against a Drakes Bay or Estero landing is textual, found in the description by Richard Hakluyt of the arrival of the *Golden Hinde* in the bay of Nova Albion. Hakluyt's 1600 account states: "It pleased God to send vs into a faire and good Baye, with a good winde to enter the same. . . .

In this Bay wee ankered the seuententh of June. . . ."³⁸ The passage denotes fast, safe sailing comparable to that which can be experienced while sailing through the Golden Gate. The same sensation is not realizable when entering any other Coast Miwok anchorage.

A good wind would have been pleasing to the Elizabethans only if the entrance to the bay were large and safe. Drakes Bay is the only other anchorage in Coast Miwok territory large enough to make the existence of a strong wind favorable rather than hazardous, but the bay lacks an entrance through which a ship can be *sent*. It is, in fact, just a portion of the much larger Gulf of the Farallones. This gulf, with the Golden Gate in its center, creates a unique wind eddy which, in the afternoon hours, when there is updraft in the Central Valley, results in a shift of the prevailing wind from northwest to west between Point Reyes and the Golden Gate. This eddy would give a ship sailing into the large and beautiful bay the sensation of being sent by a "pleased God."

In addition, the textual reference to a "good winde" indicates that the visibility on June 17, 1579, was good-to-excellent. In the summer season, strong northwesterly winds and good visibility usually accompany each other, while low fog normally persists when there is relatively calm air. There are virtually no summer storms on the California coast where wind and poor visibility occur at the same time. In this season, visibility of six or more miles occurs 64 per cent of the time, and a good wind would substantially increase these odds. Later explorers like Captain George Vancouver experienced similar sailing conditions rounding Point Reyes: he sighted white cliffs in the morning and anchored safely in San Francisco Bay by evening. (In contrast, Captain Juan Ayala had difficulty bringing the first Spanish vessel through the Golden Gate in 1775 because he came from the south against

prevailing northwesterly winds and, evidently, on a day the Central Valley did not have updraft conditions.) Meteorological conditions, then, indicate a swift sail through the Golden Gate for Drake's ship.

A final point to consider in the determination of Drake's anchorage is the textual description of the *Golden Hinde's* departure from Nova Albion. According to *The World Encompassed*:

the 23. of Iuly they the Indians tooke a sorrowfull farewell of vs. . . . Not farre without this harborough did lye certaine Ilands (we called them the Ilands of Saint Iames) the Farallon Islands, hauing on them plentifull and great store of Seales and birds, with one of which wee fell Iuly 24. . . ."³⁹

The *Golden Hinde*, then, weighed anchor on July 23 and did not arrive at the Farallones, only twenty-four miles off the Golden Gate, until July 24. Departure from any bay in Coast Miwok territory other than San Francisco Bay, however, would have allowed Drake to reach the Farallones in one day.

It has been argued that the apparent two-day voyage may be accounted for by a supposed practice of changing the day date at noon rather than midnight. The voyage, therefore, would be only one day long, although the date change at noon would imply an overnight voyage to modern readers.⁴⁰ According to Lt. Commander D. W. Waters of the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich, however, "it is correct to assume that the dates July 23 and 24 and 25 . . . from *The World Encompassed*, refer to days whereon 0001 hours occurred one minute after midnight, 12.00 hours at noon, and 24.00 hours at midnight."⁴¹ The claim of a noon date change is spurious, and the *Golden Hinde* did, indeed, make an overnight voyage to the Farallones.

The length of time required for this short voyage, while too long from an anchorage at Drakes Bay or Estero is consistent with a departure from northern San Francisco Bay. Drake would have sailed from his anchorage on an ebbing tide, using the flow of the current for assistance in navigating the Golden Gate. Tide tables for July 23rd (August 2, new date) reveal that high tide at the Golden Gate occurred at approximately 12.30 hours (12:30 P.M.) and low tide was reached at approximately 17.12 hours (5:12 P.M.).⁴² Thus Drake, riding the ebbing afternoon tide out of the bay, would have found himself outside the Golden Gate shortly before nightfall. A wait until dawn, with the date change at midnight, before sailing on to the Farallones would account for the two-day trip as described in *The World Encompassed*.

During the 400 years since Drake sailed away from Nova Albion, the actual site of his anchorage has remained an enigma, obscured by the loss of his journals and the dearth of incontrovertible archaeological evidence. The determination by Heizer, *et al.*, that the Indians who met Drake were Coast Miwoks, only limited the hunt to Marin and Sonoma counties. The search was again narrowed by the *Portus Novae Albionis* plan on the Hondius map, which corresponds in detail to the northern end of San Francisco Bay. While

discovery of the Plate of Brass site might have settled the matter, its value as definitive proof has been eroded by lame arguments that the plaque may have been moved—although the site where it was found substantiates the authenticity of the *Portus* plan.

An analysis of descriptions contained in *The World Encompassed* and *The Famous Voyage* and a comparison of inland Marin regions indicate a definite correlation between the area of the *Portus* plan and Point San Quentin. In the case of “conies,” “trees without leaues,” and the “herbe much like our lectuce,” evidence points exclusively to the northern bay region, as do the conical redwood-slab Indian dwellings seen by Drake which are different from the cave-like dwellings seen in the Point Reyes-Olema Valley region by Cermeño sixteen years later. The matter of the “white cliffes” has been found consistent with San Francisco Bay, and while the question of the weather is not strongly supportive, neither does it preclude the bay. The similarity of geography in the Montanus illustration and the evidence regarding the Indian camp and a careenage site suggested by the San Quentin map support the argument. The “goode winde” passage indicates good visibility and that the ship sailed through a safe entrance like the Golden Gate. Finally, the matter of the overnight voyage to the Farallones—explicable only in terms of a journey from inside San Francisco Bay—closes the case for a landing by Drake near Point San Quentin.

NOTES

1. John Dee, *General and Rare Memorials Pertayning to the Perfect Art of Navigation* (London, 1577). This knowledge is gleaned from the preface (f.iiiij) and from the unpublished volume 4 in the British Museum. See E. G. R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography 1485-1583*, p. 116 (London, 1930). This work was imprinted in August, 1577, under the patronage of Christopher Hatton, friend and supporter of Francis Drake and Thomas Doughty.

2. Richard Willes and Richard Eden, *The History of Trauayle In the West and East Indies, and other Countreys Lying Eyther Way, Toward the Fruitful and Ryche Moluccaes . . . With a Discourse of the Northwest Passage* (London, 1577), “The Epistle,” folio iii. This work was specially imprinted in July, 1577, for Drake under the patronage of his godfather, the Earl of Bedford.

3. The first edition of *The World Encompassed* states that Drake renamed the *Pellican* the *Golden Hinde*. Subsequent editions dropped the “e” from *Hinde*, but it is likely the first edition reflected the spelling used by the Drake expedition. This is further supported by “Memorandu Hacklyes Voyages of Fletcher,” which is considered to be a direct copy of Francis Fletcher’s original manuscript. Drake renamed his ship the *Golden Hinde* in honor of Christopher Hatton after the trial and execution at Port San Julian of Hatton’s former secretary, Thomas Doughty. The hind decorated the Hatton family’s armorial crest which filled a full page in John Dee’s work noted above.

4. *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake*, 64, 82 (Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1966. Offset edition of the Huntington Library copy of the first edition [London, 1628]).

5. Willes, *The History of Trauayle*. Quote from title page.
6. Dates given in this paper are old style; for new style, add ten days.
7. This comparison between the *Portus Novae Albionis* and northern San Francisco Bay was first presented in the author's "Portus Novae Albionis Rediscovered?" in *Pacific Discovery*, May-June, 1954.
8. A simple translation from Latin would render this "Port of Nova Albion," although it is possible that "Portus" was selected to identify the anchorage as an inner harbor, or estero. On the first post-Portola map, San Francisco Bay was identified as "Estero de S. Francisco."
9. There are six known copies of the Hondius *Expeditionis Nauticae*: British Museum (1), Royal Geographical Society (2), the Robert H. Power collection (2), and the W. A. Engelbrecht collection, Rotterdam (1).
10. The date is fixed between the return of Cavendish in September, 1588, and the issue of the Michael Mercator Silver Medal of the World in 1589, which showed a partial cartographic indebtedness to the *Expeditionis Nauticae*. See H. P. Kraus, *Sir Francis Drake: A Pictorial Biography*, 157, 218-19 (Amsterdam, 1970).
11. Sidney Colvin, *Early Engraving and Engravers in England, 1547-1695*, (London, 1905).
12. Comparison is based upon U.S. Coast Survey charts of 1856, which antedate the modification of the shoreline by fill.
13. Since 1956, the Drake Navigators Guild has argued that the *Portus* plan represented the entrance sand bars and cove of Drakes Estero. This claim hangs on the supposition that a recently eroded extension of a sand spit, visible at low tide as a sand "island," was originally the island paralleling the peninsula in the *Portus* plan. This sand bar could never parallel the spit, however, as it is an extension of the spit. A sand island parallel to the sand spit at Drakes Estero would be oceanographically impossible.
14. *The World Encompassed*, 80.
15. Walter A. Starr, "Drake Landed in San Francisco Bay: The Testimony of the Plate of Brass," in *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XLI:4 (September, 1962).
16. This singular document is now held in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
17. Colin G. Fink and E. P. Polushkin, *Drake's Plate of Brass Authenticated* (San Francisco, 1938). See also, George P. Hammond, *Sir Francis Drake and the Finding of the Plate of Brass* (Berkeley, n.d.).
18. Raymond Aker, *Report of Findings Relative to the Identification of Sir Francis Drake's Encampment at Point Reyes National Seashore. A Research Report of the Drake Navigators Guild* (Pt. Reyes, 1970).
19. Starr, in *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XLI:4.
20. Richard Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations, Voiages & Discoveries of the English Nation*, 643 [i] (Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1965. Offset edition of the 1589 edition). Six unnumbered leaves were inserted in most copies of the original edition. They were titled "The famous voyage of Sir Francis Drake into the South Sea, and there hence about the whole Globe of the Earth."
21. Robert F. Heizer and William W. Elmendorf, "Francis Drake's California Anchorage in Light of the Indian Language Spoken There," in *Pacific Historical Review*, XI:213-17 (1942).

22. *The World Encompassed*, 80.

23. *The Famous Voyage*, 643[h].

24. The Barbary cony is more closely related to the rhinoceros than it is to any member of the rodent family. It has small hoofed feet, no tail, and no oral pouches, but its overall color and body form are very similar to the California ground squirrel. Scientists presume that this look-alike phenomenon is due to environmental adaptation to similar living conditions in rocks and grass land.

25. Drake Navigators Guild, *Identification of the Nova Albion Conie* (Pt. Reyes, n.d.).

26. *The World Encompassed*, 65

27. *Ibid.*, 74

28. *The Famous Voyage*, 643[i].

29. *The World Encompassed*, 64. Weather records are not available for Point San Quentin; but it is of interest that San Francisco weather station records for July and early August of 1962, reported fifteen consecutive days of morning overcast, with only four days having any sunshine until after noon, and only one of these days had sunshine before 11:00 A.M. (The height of the sun was customarily taken at noon, and the stars at midnight.) The 1962 "100-year record" virtually matched the statement in *The World Encompassed*, but it is still "atypical" for San Francisco Bay.

30. *Ibid.*, 82

31. Arnoldus Montanus, *De Nieuwe en Onbekonde Weereld: of Beschryving van Americo en 1 + Zuid-Land . . .*, 213 (Amsterdam, 1671).

32. "Question: The relationship between Arnold Montanus and Petrus Montanus," MS, 14 pp. and genealogy chart (Amsterdam, 1957). Prepared for Robert H. Power.

33. Stephen Powers, *Contributions to North American Ethnology, Vol. III, Tribes of California*, fig. 37 facing p. 366 (Washington, D.C., 1877).

34. Quoted in Henry R. Wagner, *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America in the Sixteenth Century*, 158 (San Francisco, 1929).

35. Quoted in Wagner, *Spanish Voyages*, 165.

36. Mapa de la Carcel de S.^a Quentin y Vecindad by Bullivar Gran, Piloto precedente del bergantin "Rosinante" [circa 1860]. "Prepared in 1951 from badly crumpled blueprint map found in dead files" at San Quentin Prison. In 1954, this manuscript copy of an old map of the San Quentin prison area was in the associate warden's office. Point San Quentin had the best anchorage cove on San Francisco Bay north of Tiburon. It was selected as an anchorage by Captain Sutter, whaling captains, and finally by the state contract prisonship which took refuge there in the early 1850's. This fine historic harbor was filled with the dirt from "prison hill" when the main cell blocks were built in the last century.

37. *The World Encompassed*, 70.

38. Richard Hakluyt, *Voyages, Navigations, Trafiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, vol. 3, p. 440 (London, 1600). This version of *The Famous Voyage* was the first to mention the arrival date of June 17.

39. *The World Encompassed*, 81-2.

40. Aker, *Report*, 328.

41. Letter to the author from Lt. Cmdr. D. W. Waters, July 13, 1960.
42. Tide table for Drakes Bay, July and August 1579, in the files of the Drakes Navigators Guild, Pt. Reyes, California; corrected for the Golden Gate by the addition of 1.05 hours for high tide, and 0.37 hours for low tide, as per "Tidal Differences and Other Constants, *Tide and Current Table*, San Francisco Bay, 1973.

LARGE INITIALS in the text are reproduced from Richard Willes and Richard Eden, *The History of Trauayle* . . . (London, 1577).

The Historiography of the Drake Controversy

DONALD G. PIKE, *historian who has written extensively on the West*

THE LOCATION OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE'S ANCHORAGE SITE in California in 1579 has been a carbuncle on the corpus of California history for nearly two centuries—painful to contemplate and impossible to ignore. The individual who seeks an answer by turning to the modern general histories of the state finds either ambivalence or the kind of certainty that leaps from ignorance: John W. Caughey in *California* (1953) is skeptical of all the evidence and finally opts for the least likely choice, Trinidad Head; Andrew F. Rolle in *California: A History* (1969) concludes that the site might be Drakes Bay or Bodega Bay, but probably not San Francisco Bay; Ralph J. Roske in *Everyman's Eden* (1968) states firmly that the landing might have been anywhere on the northern coast of the state; and others, better left unnamed, have chosen at random and presented their selections as undisputed fact.

If the interested reader pursues the question to more specialized books and articles, he finds a cauldron of historical controversy that has been percolating and growing since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The yeast of the brew is the dearth of hard evidence available: narratives that are vague or open to interpretation on some crucial points; a plate of brass that *may* have been moved a long or short distance, or, even, not at all; and a tiny map that has been twisted and turned to represent every inlet on the coast from Half Moon Bay into Oregon. Most historians who have cast their opinions into the kettle have served to stir, rather than settle, the ferment.

The various determinations of the anchorage site have been based on evidence found in *The World Encompassed*, *The Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake*, and the map of Drake's anchorage on the border of the Hondius map of the world, *Vera Totius Expeditionis Nauticae* (1589). Data from the narratives include reference to "white cliffs" (evoking memories in Drake of Sussex, and hence the name *Nova Albion*), mention of a "strange kind of conie" and an "herbe much like our lettuce," descriptions of the Indians, and reference, in passing, to the landscape and weather. Finally, during the last three decades, the quest has been narrowed considerably by the discovery of Drake's Plate of Brass and the identification of the Indians he met on his stopover.

Efforts to pin down the exact location of Drake's anchorage began nearly two hundred years ago, when Captain George Vancouver observed in his *Voyage of Discovery* . . . (1798) that "the supposed Bay of Sir Francis Drake" lay in the lee of Point Reyes. Vancouver's identification, however, was occasioned primarily by his cartographic heritage; since the appearance of the first "Island of California" map in 1624, most maps of California, whether of Spanish or English origin, showed an amorphous indentation identified as the "Pt. of S. F. Draco," "Port Sr. Francis Drake," or something similar.

The actual bay represented by the indentation was often in doubt, and often changed. (The Arrowsmith map of 1790, for example, showed San Francisco Bay as the bay of Sir Francis Drake.)

Following in Vancouver's wake came Captain James Burney, who decided in his 1803 *Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Sea*, Part I, that since Drakes Bay (as we know it today) would not offer adequate protection to ships from the weather, Drake must have anchored in San Francisco Bay. Burney, however, lacked positive proof for his apparently arbitrary decision.

In 1811 Alexander von Humboldt examined all the available old maps of the area and entered the fray, proposing in his *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain*, Vol. II, that Drake landed in the harbor known to the Spaniards as *Puerto de Bodega*. Burney retorted that Humboldt didn't know what he was talking about. Such was the state of the controversy—and the art of history—through the duration of the Spanish occupation of California.

The Drake problem lay fallow until the excitement of war, gold, and statehood had settled somewhat. Then, in 1855, Frank Soule argued in the *Annals of San Francisco* that the *Golden Hinde* had anchored in Drakes Bay. Soule felt that the references in *The World Encompassed* to white cliffs and what he believed were an "abundance of rabbits" (conies) pointed to a site near Point Reyes, and further, that had Drake entered San Francisco Bay, *The World Encompassed* would have discoursed at length on the magnificence of the harbor. On another side of the controversy the 1866 *History of California* by Franklin Tuthill reached hitherto unprobed lows in historical objectivity with the argument that San Francisco Bay was close enough to the descriptions in the narratives, and, besides, what other bay around was sufficiently magnificent to entertain Drake for thirty-six days?

In 1868, J. D. B. Stillman, writing in the *Overland Monthly*, favored San Francisco Bay. He built his case around an identification of the "strange kind of conies" as the California ground squirrel and the fact that the "white cliffs . . . lie toward the sea" and not toward an anchorage in Drakes Bay. He further attacked Vancouver for placing Drake's name on the bay at Point Reyes, thereby misleading popular opinion to assume that it was the anchorage site. John W. Dwinelle, writing in the *San Francisco Call* during 1878, compared the flora, fauna, and geography in the available descriptions to those of Bodega Bay and concluded that the white sand hills of the area were the "white cliffs" of Nova Albion. In 1884 Edward E. Hale challenged Dwinelle, apparently responding to the superficial appeal of Dwinelle's cartographic comparisons of Bodega Bay and the Portus plan from the Hondius map. Hale argued that the Portus plan was "purely imaginary" and that it could match nothing. After examining old Spanish maps and histories, Hale divined that San Francisco Bay was Drake's anchorage—or so it would seem from his reluctance to discuss the traditional evidence.

During the decade of the 1880's the question came under the purview of H. H. Bancroft, whose massive reputation and influence served to solidify opinion and paralyze investigation until well into the twentieth century. Bancroft, in his *History of California* (1884), regarded much of *The World Encompassed* as "absurd" and "not worth reproducing in detail;" there was "no doubt that Drake really anchored on the coast in the region indicated, touching at one of the Farallones on his departure; but in respect of further details they [the narratives] inspire no confidence." He concluded that Drake could not have entered San Francisco Bay, for he would have explored it in search of the Northwest Passage, and the narratives—which Bancroft regarded as compiled by "a liar"—would have mentioned the exploration Bancroft left the issue

somewhat up in the air, but he favored Drakes Bay slightly over Bodega as the likely landing site.

Immediately after Bancroft's efforts came Theodore H. Hittel's *History of California* (1885), in which the author matter-of-factly stated that Drake "... passed the long projecting promontory of Point Reyes and under its lee discovered 'a convenient and fit harbor' [from *The World Encompassed*] in which he came to anchor on June 17, 1579." End of argument. In 1890 George W. Davidson reversed an earlier position favoring San Francisco Bay and joined the consensus by arguing that the site could not have been San Francisco or Bodega bays for cartographic reasons and because the natives described in the account, he believed, were Nicasio Indians. Later, in 1921, Charles E. Chapman also joined the fold, citing Bodega as an unfit harbor, San Francisco as cartographically wrong, and Drakes Bay as the obvious site by virtue of the "white cliffs."

In 1926, Henry R. Wagner, whose *Sir Francis Drake's Voyage Around the World* remains the classic on the circumnavigation, struck out on his own to argue that the bay represented on the Hondius map was, in fact, Trinidad Head in Humboldt County. Wagner remains authoritative on much of Drake's voyage, but on this point subsequent discoveries and research have left him far out in left field.

The only significant artifact relating to the Drake visit in California is the Plate of Brass which was discovered on a hillside in Greenbrae by Beryle Shinn in 1936. Later, the validity of the plate was authenticated by a team of metallurgists and chemists from Columbia University and M.I.T. The find led Dr. Herbert E. Bolton in 1937 to conclude that Drake's landing had been made at either Drakes Bay, Bodega Bay, or San Francisco Bay. In that same year William Caldiera, a chauffeur, came forward to state that he had picked up a piece of metal that resembled the Plate of Brass at Drakes Bay in 1933 and, later, thrown it out of his car between San Quentin and Kentfield without realizing its value. Although Walter A. Starr, in the *California Historical Society Quarterly* of September, 1962, cast considerable doubt on the supposition that the Caldiera and Shinn pieces of metal were one and the same by arguing that almost two miles separated the point where Caldiera discarded his and Shinn pulled his free from the soil, the authenticity of the location had been impeached.

In 1947, Robert F. Heizer used the descriptions of the Indians in *The World Encompassed* to prove beyond any reasonable doubt that the Indians involved were Coast Miwoks. This research, published by University of California Press, placed the landing site either at San Francisco Bay, Drakes Bay, or Bodega Bay, and Heizer offered the suggestion in closing that the narrative's mention of "white cliffs" led him to favor Drakes Bay as the anchorage.

Since that time the discussion has settled down to a series of articles and addresses favoring either Drakes Estero entering off Drakes Bay or San Francisco Bay: in 1954 Robert H. Power's article in *Pacific Discovery* proposing San Francisco Bay; a reply from Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz of the Drake Navigators Guild delivered at the California Historical Society in 1956 and elaborated upon in *Pacific Discovery* during 1958; an address to the historical society by Robert Power in 1959; the Starr paper in the September, 1962 *Quarterly* favoring San Francisco Bay; and an article by Captain Adolf Oko of the Drake Navigators Guild in the June, 1964 *Quarterly* declaring in favor of Drakes Estero.

It now appears that the Drake question may be in sufficient focus for historians to renew their interest in the evidence and form a new consensus on the matter. If this is the case, the longest search for historical evidence in the Drake historiography may finally be brought to a close.

John H. White, Jr.

Curator of Transportation, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

The Railroad Reaches California: Men, Machines, and Cultural Migration

IN 1829 A NEW TRANSPORTATION CONCEPT, the steam railroad, jumped the Atlantic to North America from England. During the next forty years, it took root in the eastern United States and moved westward to the Pacific Coast. In the West, the steam railroad was clearly an imported technology; no claim for local origins can be made. The railway was not invented in California nor was the first locomotive constructed in Oakland, the first rail rolled in La Jolla, or the first chilled-wheel poured at Sacramento. The basic innovations that, when combined, made the modern railway possible, occurred generations before the 1850's when the Iron Horse reached California and in far distant places. By 1850 the northeastern United States was operating a dense network of rail lines. The South and Midwest were developing similar systems. The basic technology was already fixed, the age of experiment long in the past.

General historians have already pointed out the east-to-west transfer of society and culture in the United States, and my remarks will buttress their arguments.¹ And if academic historians will permit the mechanic to venture into the "sacred grove," I think they will realize that technology is not only part of the general culture, but, like the decorative arts, for instance, it travels similar paths and is equally bolstered and handicapped by tradition, experiment, and prejudice. Like so many activities of man, mechanical progress appears to be the fruit of successive partial failures.

Before we can understand why and in what form the railway reached California, something must first be said about its origins. The railway had ancient beginnings associated with the mines of Europe. Its ability to move heavy loads with minimum power suggested potential employment for general carriage of goods and passengers many centuries later.

The public railway, as we know it today, was a late development, essentially a manifestation of the nineteenth century, and we are indebted to the British for advancing the primitive industrial tramway into a sophisticated conveyance. It is not surprising that the railway should emerge in Great Britain for, by the mid-eighteenth century, Britain was clearly the dominant industrial power of the world. Scores of Britons worked at perfecting the steam engine, textile machinery, iron bridges, and countless other mechanical devices, and the mechanical arts flourished as nowhere else. As the Italians

delighted in working stone, the English showed a facility for shaping iron: they were, in fact, proclaimed a "ferruginous race" by a contemporary.²

Two basic reforms were necessary to make the railway suitable for speedy, long-distance travel: faultless track and mechanical power. Existing civil engineering techniques aided in the construction of level, straight lines; iron rails, in use since the middle of the eighteenth century, made possible a smooth, substantial path. Around 1800, the reasonably compact, high-pressure steam engine was converted into a self-propelling vehicle, and in 1825 these three ingredients were brought together. A new era opened as mechanical land transport was at last possible on a commercial scale. The steam railway easily bested its competitors—the canal and highway—and England's railway revolution was under way.

Young America—faced with a gigantic transportation problem—watched these developments with considerable interest. The vast, unsettled, inland empire needed some means of commercial communication, and the energetic, "go ahead" American population wanted it quickly. A national system of highways, canals, and river improvements had been proposed since the beginning of the republic, but little had been accomplished. Hence, upstart advocates of the new British invention were listened to with considerable sympathy as they argued that the railway was the answer to America's transportation needs.

Canals were painfully slow and subject to spring floods and winter freezes, they observed. Highways were equally slow and had proven to be the most expensive form of freight haulage. Railroads, however, were fast, cheap, and independent of seasonal vicissitudes.

Railway partisans mustered enough support to begin some railway construction in this country by 1830, a year after the first steam locomotive crossed the Atlantic, and the United States became the first country outside of Great Britain to give the steam railway a considered trial. Within two years Americans were not merely convinced of its merits, they were fanatical converts. Observers speak glibly today of America's love affair with the automobile, but they forget this country's early romance with the railroad. And there is nothing more intense than young love. This was no laconic infatuation, it was a burning passion. The United States built railroads faster than any other country in the world. By 1850 they had outbuilt the British by 1500 miles.³ The pace quickened to two to ten thousand miles a year thereafter. By the end of the century, half of the world's railways were in the United States.

The system developed, as might be expected, from the settled East Coast westward. The New England network was finished by 1850, the Appalachian barrier crossed a few years later. An east-west connection was made with the already constructed midwestern lines. When the Civil War began, the northern states east of the Mississippi River were crisscrossed by rail lines.

The South, too, had a comprehensive system which lacked only a few important connections. West of the Mississippi, however, steam cars were almost unknown.

The technology for all this development was borrowed from Britain in direct and unashamed emulation. American engineers were sent overseas to copy what had been so painfully worked out by the British. Their observations and reports, together with several general texts on the subject, were all that was known about the railway in America. Moreover, the locomotives, rails, wheels, axles, and other necessary hardware were imported directly from Britain.

America's pioneer lines were thus facsimiles of British practice. This comes as no surprise. What is surprising is how fast the British plan was abandoned and a uniquely American style of construction and rolling stock originated.

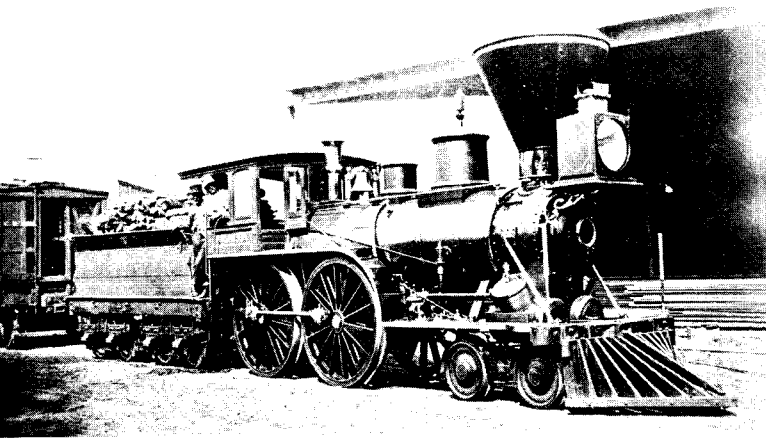
First to be dropped was the method of roadway construction. The English conceived of a railway as a monumental civil engineering work, a "permanent way" to stand up through the centuries. And, as in so many matters of excellence, English railways were expensive—\$179,000 per mile.⁴ Britain could afford it, America could not.

Americans were looking for a provisional form of transit. They needed a cheap, easy-to-build railway. They had great distances to cover and centers of population were not only widely separated, but the land between was sparsely settled, and, hence, traffic density was low. In addition, Americans were chronically short of both capital and labor.

The most obvious way to lower cost and hasten construction was to lower standards of construction, and elimination of extensive grading was the first economy. Railroads were planned to follow the natural rise and fall of the land; tunnels were avoided by taking less direct routes around rather than through hills; wooden trestles took the place of masonry viaducts. Track was fabricated from local timber surfaced with only a thin iron strap. The result of these economies was a decidedly inferior railroad, make-shift, dangerous, and expensive to operate and maintain. But it was wonderfully cheap to build. American costs were only one-sixth those of the British plan.⁵

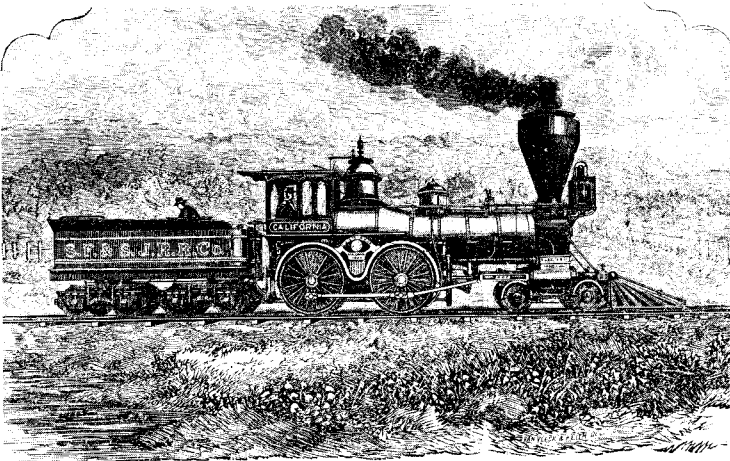
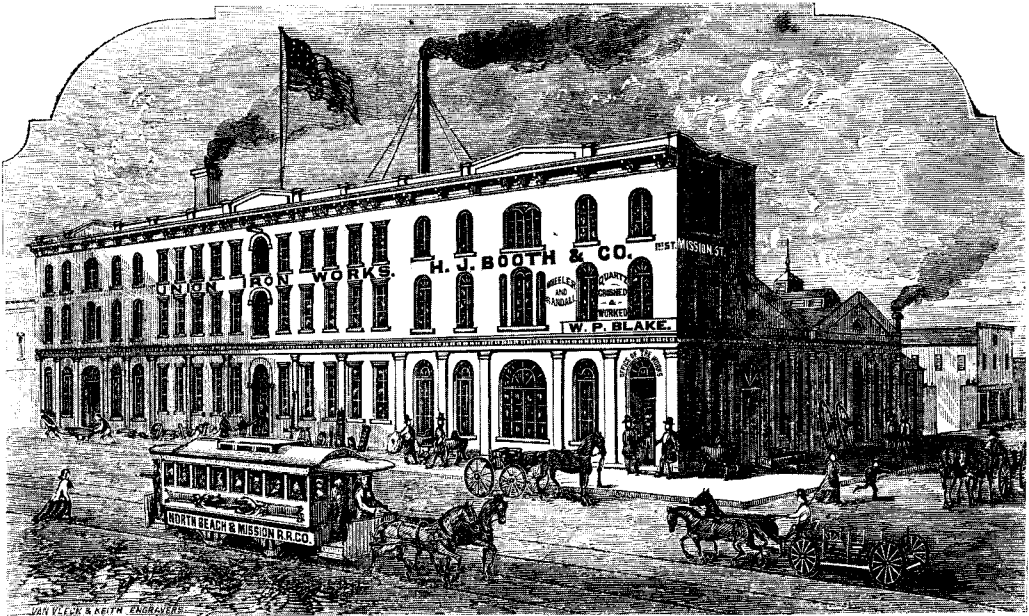
The commitment to sub-standard track in the early 1830's created an immediate need for equipment that could perform satisfactorily on it. Existing British rolling stock was found totally unsuitable, few alternative suppliers of locomotives existed, and many pioneer American railway men were convinced that Britain alone could produce first-class machinery. Domestic foundries were capable of producing pig iron, scalding kettles, fireplace irons, and the like, but surely, they believed, nothing so sophisticated as a locomotive engine. This bias was quickly overturned, however, by the inept performance on the new track of the imported machines.⁶

The most obvious problem with the British machines was the running

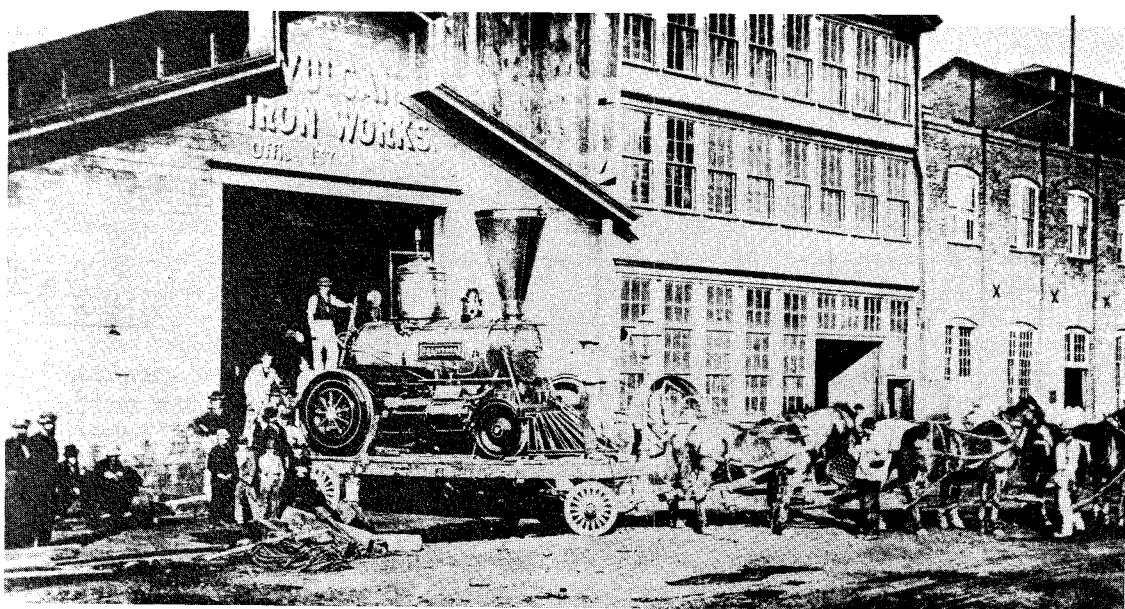


The first locomotive in California was built in Boston in 1849. Originally named the *Elephant*, it is shown here as rebuilt and renamed *Pioneer* in 1869. *G.M. Best Collection.*

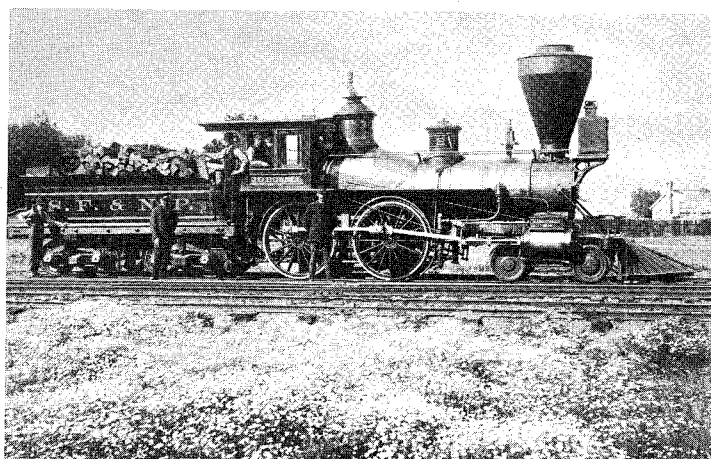
San Francisco's Union Iron Works (below) was the Far West's only commercial producer of main line locomotives. *DeGolyer Library, Dallas, Texas.*



In 1865 California's first locomotive was produced by the Union Iron Works. The *California* was built for the San Francisco and San Jose Railroad. Later acquired by the Southern Pacific, it remained in service until 1911. *De Golyer Library.*



The Vulcan Iron Works (above) on San Francisco's First Street (photograph, 1867) specialized in light locomotives. *Photo G.M. Best from Roy Graves Collection.*



In 1870 Union produced its fourteenth locomotive, the *Downey* (left), for the San Francisco and North Pacific. *Railway and Locomotive Historical Society.*

gear. It was rigid and compact, while the United States' uneven, serpentine lines called for limber, rangy machines. Flexibility was the key, then, and it became a watchword of the inquiring Yankee mechanics who set out to refine the locomotive for use in America.

By 1840 considerable experimentation had convinced American railroad men that the eight-wheel locomotive plan was the best design for general service. Until the 1880's, in fact, its hegemony was so complete that it became known as the Standard or American type locomotive. Like giant cookie cutters, locomotive shops in all parts of the country stamped them out alike. Only the most pedantic specialist could note differences between the products of Boston, Philadelphia, or Paterson, New Jersey, shops, and even these would be conceded as trivial variations in details: distinctive bell stands, dome covers, or makers' plates. It is difficult to exaggerate the ubiquity or

importance of the standard eight-wheel locomotive which was relied upon in New England, the Midwest, and the South. And when the locomotive finally came to the Pacific West after 1850, it was in the form of a standard eight-wheeler.

People had talked of building a railroad to the Pacific a dozen years before the gold rush, but a project of such scope was regarded as the preoccupation of cranks, an impossible dream. And so it remained. Indeed, California had been a state twenty years before a transcontinental rail connection was opened to the east.

The railroad did not travel to California by land; it traveled by sea. And it came quietly, humbly—not to haul a rich golden lode or a restless population, but to move sand and gravel. In the spring of 1851, contractors engaged in improving San Francisco's waterfront off-loaded a locomotive, several flat cars, a quantity of rail, and a steam shovel sent round the Horn from the Globe Iron Works in Boston.⁷ This locomotive, the first on the Pacific Coast, was appropriately named the *Elephant*, and she was meant for yeoman service in leveling the sand dunes and filling the marshes fronting San Francisco. However, city fathers would not tolerate the crossing of streets by a steam-powered train. The contractors thus were forced to operate with mules, and the *Elephant* remained in storage until she was sold to the Sacramento Valley Railroad five years later.

Practical as the grading project may have been, it can hardly be called a glamorous beginning for railroading in the West. But agitation for a proper-style steam railroad was growing. Several lines were in the process of incorporating, while talk of many others abounded. California's population had grown enormously since 1849, and most of the influx was from the eastern states. Established habits and customs came with the immigrants who remembered the comforts and conveniences of rail transport. Theirs was a conscious desire to recreate an eastern civilization on the Pacific shores. The majority of the new population were lawyers, farmers, carpenters, grocers. They were not professional miners—they were dilettantes, and they wanted the familiar comforts, not frontier privations. Soon there were enough of them to generate the traffic needed for a paying railroad.

The railroad movement centered in Sacramento, gateway to the gold fields.⁸ Reliable transportation from the seaport of San Francisco was available to this point by river steamer. But eastward lay a tedious trip overland. First plans called for a railroad to the Mississippi River, but promoters, on learning the cost of such a road, were content to modify their plans. A short line to Folsom on the American River, some twenty-two miles northeast of Sacramento, was projected instead. Even this modest enterprise was realized only slowly. Construction did not begin until 1855, nearly three years after a charter was granted.

Just a year later the line opened and a local newspaper reported that the

trains were propelled by an "engine screaming and tearing along like an infuriated devil." This railroad was an exact copy of its eastern counterparts. It was built by the New York contractors Robinson, Seymour & Co. The chief engineer was Theodore D. Judah of Bridgeport, Connecticut, better known as a zealous advocate of the Pacific Railroad. The locomotives came from Boston; the rails from England. (The United States did not become self-sufficient in rail production until late in the century.) Only the car bodies were locally produced. The wheels and hardware were from the East where a large subsidiary supply industry, with a corps of specialists to man it, had rapidly grown up.

The Sacramento Valley line opened the railroad era in California. During the first decade progress was made at a measured pace. Several small roads were built and work started on the Central Pacific. By the mid-1860's a wave of new construction was planned or underway. In 1862 the state had only twenty-three miles of railroad; ten years later over a thousand miles had been added.⁹ The demand for supplies and rolling stock rose sharply. Because of the Civil War these materials were scarce and expensive. The nation's locomotive plants—concentrated in the northeastern states—were hard-pressed to satisfy the needs of both the commercial railroads and the Union army. The government was not above requisitioning locomotives when necessary. In addition California railroads were required to pay \$2000 and more in shipping charges (adding roughly 20 per cent to the costs).¹⁰ The trip by sea averaged 150 days and in one instance took as long as nine months. Transshipment over the Panama Railroad had been tried, but the freight charges were astronomical.

The obvious question was soon asked: why not build engines in the West and save the time and cost of ocean shipment? San Francisco had foundries and mechanics aplenty. Had not a small geared locomotive already been completed at the shops of Young and Stoddard in the winter of 1859? Other light locomotives were subsequently made at the Vulcan Iron Works. Could not road engines be built as well? This combination of economics and local pride could lead to only one answer.

The challenge was taken up by the Union Iron Works in San Francisco in 1865.¹¹ The plant had expanded considerably since its founding sixteen years earlier by Peter Donahue. Like so many other California pioneers, Donahue found more gold in swinging a hammer than in turning a pick or shovel for elusive rich ore. He stayed with the machinist trade he had learned in Paterson, New Jersey, a locomotive-building center since 1837. Like so many early mechanics he felt equal to mastering any specialty, from marine engines to stamping mills. By the time the locomotive project came about, Donahue had drifted into other business ventures outside the Union Iron Works. One of these was the San Francisco and San Jose Railroad. But when more locomotives were wanted, he naturally turned to his old shop.

Donahue left the design and production, however, to others, notably Irving M. Scott (1837-1903).¹² Scott knew locomotive construction from his earlier connection with the Murray and Hazellhurst firm of Baltimore. It had been through this firm, in fact, that he moved to California. In 1860 he had been sent to deliver and assemble a steam fire engine purchased from Murray and Hazellhurst by Peter Donahue, and Donahue persuaded him to stay in the West. When Scott approached locomotive building, he followed the established, standard eight-wheel plan and his design was conventional in size and pattern. The first engine was finished in August, 1865. Appropriately named the *California*, she upheld the reputation of her maker by continuing in service until 1911. Other orders followed, often from Donahue-controlled lines, but after two years only eight locomotives had been constructed. Eastern firms built as many in a month. Production was suspended between about 1873 and 1881; a few more were built; and then the locomotive department was closed. Total production (1865-1882) was a meager thirty locomotives.

Why were there so few orders from California's railroads? The product was good, deliveries certain, inspections convenient, cost of transportation minimal. It has been said the Central Pacific refused to buy because San Francisco bankers would not support the adventures of C. P. Huntington. Yet, at least for a short time, Scott was a director of the Central Pacific. A more likely reason was credit. Railroads were accustomed to buying locomotives on easy terms—payments over two years were not uncommon. Shares of stock were even accepted. Builders near the financial capitals of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia prospered under this system. Provincial combatants either failed or retired to another line of work. Except for a few manufacturers of very light industrial locomotives, no other commercial production of railway engines was attempted in the Far West.

California's experience was not unique. Other regions similarly failed to establish locomotive plants outside of the northeastern states. During the 1850's a dozen midwestern shops tried to break the monopoly. They built good engines, some superior to eastern products, but all save one were closed by the 1857 panic. The South tried as well but enjoyed even less success; only the several plants in Richmond, Virginia, made much of a showing.

The manufacture of railroad cars seemed to offer a more promising prospect. It was less specialized and capital-intensive than locomotive building. Being essentially a wood-working trade, a smaller investment in tools and materials was possible. A shop could be manned by common labor with a few carpenters and cabinet men for the more finished work. Plenty of choice timber was available.

Among the first commercial builders was the Kimball car works of San Francisco, opened sometime in the 1850's.¹³ The firm is known to have built passenger cars for a number of local railroads. Its greatest opportunity came

in 1870 when the Central Pacific sought a local source for sleeping cars.¹⁴ The road wanted a first-class sleeper that would rival Pullman's elegant Palace cars. As a work of local craftsmanship, the sample car was made entirely of native timber. California laurel, Mexican rosewood, and coral wood were worked into the interior paneling. The exterior was varnished to better show off the choice woods used. Splendid as the exhibit car, the *Siempre Viva*, proved, the Central Pacific, for reasons never explained, continued to patronize the established eastern shops. Kimball went under when the Bank of California failed in 1875. The plant appears to have reopened, but it never achieved an important place in the national car building industry. The half-dozen other car builders on the West Coast were similarly too small to rival the great eastern establishments.

If a case cannot be made for the success of commercial car and locomotive builders in the Far West, what of the workshops of the existing railroads? Repair work was the chief function of these facilities, but most large roads attempted at least a limited amount of new construction as well. Traditionally, the industry has supplied 25 per cent to 30 per cent of its new cars from its own workshops.

The earliest railroad repair shops of any size in California were those of the Central Pacific in Sacramento.¹⁵ From employing 20 to 30 men beginning in 1863, employment rose to 1500 in little over a decade. By 1888, 2700 workers were employed. For many years the Central Pacific shops were undoubtedly one of the mightiest industrial complexes in the West. Over \$1.25 million had been invested in the shops and another \$1 million was held in supplies. The need for so vast a plant was explained to the stockholders by the railroad's president, Leland Stanford. In the 1872 annual report he asserted: "Far removed as we are from manufacturing centers, shops complete for the manufacture of cars and locomotives are a necessity."

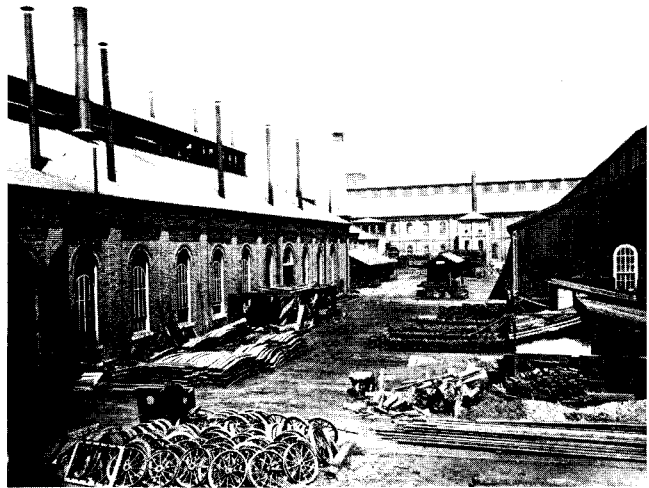
At the time of Stanford's report the road's master mechanic, Andrew Jackson Stevens, had secured permission to try his hand at new locomotive construction.¹⁶ Since 1870 he had petitioned the management on this matter. A native of Vermont, Stevens came to California in 1861. His first experience in locomotive building was at the Vulcan Iron Works. A few years later he built several engines in the tiny repair shops of the San Francisco and Alameda Railroad.¹⁷ Later, as an employee of the Central Pacific, his ambition was to produce a good road engine worthy of the Sacramento shops. At his side was George A. Stoddard, a fellow Vermonter and a first-class draftsman. Stevens and Stoddard put their best thinking into the new *Number 55*. Completed in June, 1873, she was a model locomotive, but again conventional in all respects.

At one point the Central Pacific was misled into thinking that novel locomotives of unusual power could alone surmount the western slope of the Sierra Nevada. Accordingly, a monstrous fifty-four-ton Fairlie loco-



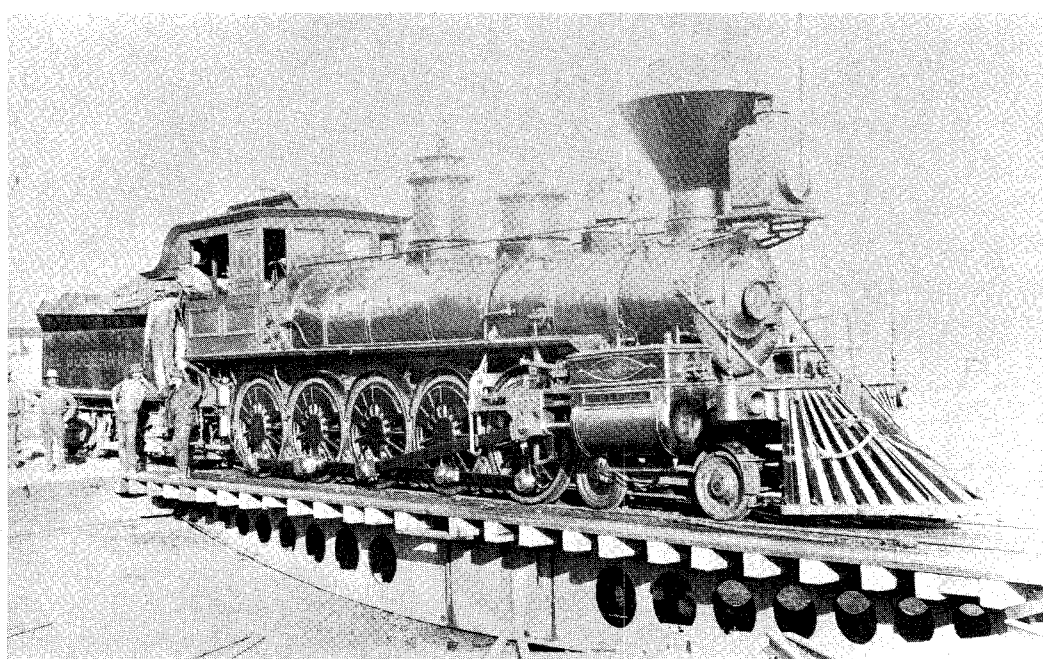
Andrew Jackson Stevens (left), 1833-1888, master mechanic of the Central Pacific Railroad. *Southern Pacific.*

The fourteen-wheeled *El Gobernador* (right) was Andrew Stevens' most ambitious attempt at locomotive construction. The 1884 experiment was one of his few failures. It was scrapped ten years later. *Photo G.M. Best from Huntington Library.*



For many years the Sacramento shops of the Central Pacific Railroad were one of the largest engineering facilities in the Far West. *Southern Pacific.*

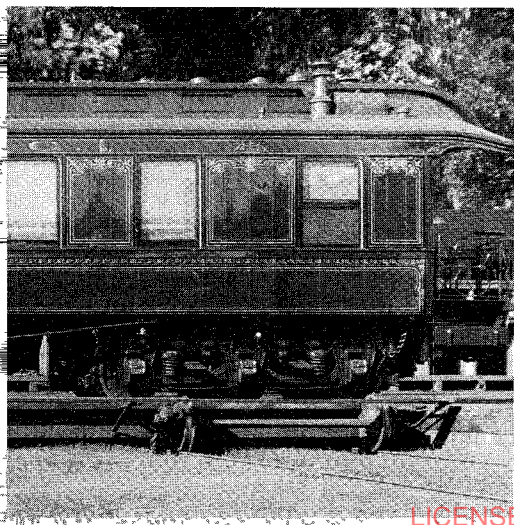




motive was ordered from the Mason Machine Works in 1868.¹⁸ Happily, however, the management came to its senses before delivery was made, since locomotives of ordinary construction proved satisfactory on the steepest grades.

While the road continued in its policy of sticking with conventional locomotives, Stevens was convinced that more powerful machines were desirable. In 1882 he built a heavy twelve-wheel freight engine numbered 229. It was an outstanding success, yet orders for the production models went to eastern shops, not Sacramento, because, as Stevens was forced to admit, his production costs were greater.¹⁹ They were apparently so high, that, beyond experimental engines and a few short runs, relatively few new locomotives were actually produced at Sacramento. Only seventy-four were built between 1873 and 1889. Production was suspended shortly after Stevens' death, not to be resumed until 1917.²⁰ It was then continued for another twenty years on a limited basis.

Although Stevens failed to institute large-scale production of locomotives at Sacramento, it should be remembered that he, nevertheless, was one of the



Some notable cars were produced in the Far West. This magnificent private car (left) was manufactured at the Sacramento Shops in 1882 for Leland Stanford. *Southern Pacific.*

few western locomotive superintendents to enjoy a national reputation. His early work with power reverses, radial-valve gears, and oil-fired locomotives brought him considerable fame. Of course, like any experimental mechanic, he occasionally blundered. One of his pet designs—the 237 (*El Gobernador*)—patently disproved the adage that if a little is good, more must be better. Stevens' fourteen-wheel engine had to be partially disassembled to move over portions of the line, for instance. The 237 never performed well, and, after a long rest in the shops, it was quietly junked. The adoption of several of Stevens' ideas in later years, however, vindicates his memory.

Stevens' counterpart in the car-manufacturing branch of rolling stock production was Benjamin Welch. A son of Maine, he apprenticed at the Portland Company, a car and locomotive manufacturer of that state. In 1852 Welch caught the gold fever and traveled to California where he failed as a miner and re-entered railway service on the Sacramento Valley Railroad.²¹ In 1863 he was hired-on as car master by the Central Pacific.

Four years later the road decided to seriously enter into the production of cars. A two-story brick shop, 90 by 238 feet, was constructed, and Welch was made superintendent. Under his direction all varieties of cars were produced, from simple hand cars to elegant private varnished models for the directors. Total production figures are not available, but scattered evidence indicates that the shop's output was considerable. Various sources, including the annual reports of the Central Pacific, offer the following figures: 1872, 826 freight cars; 1875, 24 first-class coaches, 20 second-class coaches, 9 cabooses, and 73 box cars; 1887, 400 freight cars; 1892, 750 freight cars. In August, 1888, *Railway Review* reported that "it is rush, push, crowd and jam. . . . and still the shops are unable to supply all the demands for rolling stock and material." The same note stated that 147 cars were under construction, 28 of which were tourist sleepers.

Obviously, the Central Pacific was far more enthusiastic over the construction of cars than the fabrication of locomotives. Yet, a significant number of cars continued to be purchased in the East. In addition, the Sacramento car shop, though important in the Far West, was by no means an extraordinary facility when compared to operations elsewhere in the United States. And, of more consequence, the Central Pacific was never independent of the eastern contract builders. It followed the national pattern of dependence on outside suppliers for the bulk of its rolling stock.

The railroad's first decade in California, then, was a repetition of what happened elsewhere in this country. Men and machinery were brought in from the East, because what worked in Vermont and New Jersey worked equally well in Ohio and Michigan, and what worked in the Midwest was found entirely satisfactory in the Far West. The style of railway perfected in the northeastern United States in the middle and late 1830's proved eminently practical for use in all sections of North America.

The system developed to conquer the Appalachians, the Blue Ridge, and the Berkshires proved capable of subduing the Rockies. Everywhere in the world, mechanics loyal to the British system were forced to admit that climate, terrain, population, traffic, and other factors argued for the American railway plan. The American engineer Henry Meiggs succeeded in the mountains of Peru where British rail builders had failed. George Washington Whistler took the American plan to Russia. The railways of countries including Canada, India, and Chile illustrate the triumph of the provisional railway. Even England adopted the leading-truck locomotive and the eight-wheel car in time. This very day England is undergoing the final transformation to American practice by employing "T" rail and electric signals.

The men who carried the established technology westward to California only served to strengthen the American orthodoxy. Schooled in Lowell, Amoskeag, or Manchester, they made up a "New England conspiracy" that cornered all the railroads' mechanical jobs in the West. They carried their eastern training for life and saw no reason to radically change good design. For good reasons, engineers resort to innovation only when conventional means prove unequal to the task.

From the above samplings which, I suggest, are representative of all early industry in the Far West, it is apparent that a marked dependence on eastern designs and suppliers continued for many years. Western railroads were never successful—if they, indeed, tried at all—in freeing themselves from eastern suppliers.

In recent years the rise of the electronic and aircraft industries in the Far West, together with the radical engineering concepts utilized in San Francisco's Bay Area Rapid Transit system, has altered the direction of cultural-technical flow. The emergence of a major western railway transit-car builder, Rohr Industries, which employs some startling space-age techniques, helps substantiate the hypothesis that the source of engineering progress is shifting from the East to the West. And if we look further westward, to the once-closeted empire of Japan, we can see how far and swiftly that current may flow.

NOTES

1. A version of this article was presented at a seminar entitled "The Roots of California Culture," sponsored by the University of California in April, 1970.
2. I am indebted to Professor Eugene Ferguson, University of Delaware, for this phrase.
3. General statistics offered here and elsewhere in this paper are taken primarily from *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957*, Bureau of the Census, 1960.
4. Z. Colburn and A. L. Holley, *The Permanent Way and Coal-Burning Locomotives* (New York, 1858)

5. H. S. Tanner, *A Description of the Canals and Railroads of the United States* (New York, 1840). Foreign reports on United States railroads of the period confirm the above. See F. A. Von Gerstner's *Die Innern Communication* . . . (Vienna, 1843).

6. See J. H. White, *American Locomotives 1830-1880* (Baltimore, 1968).

7. G. M. Best's excellent article in *Western Railroader*, June, 1970, pp. 3-20, culls fresh information on pioneer West Coast locomotives from early newspapers.

8. G. H. Kneiss, *Bonanza Railroads* (Stanford, 1941), is a basic reference on early California and Nevada railroads.

9. *Poor's Manual of Railroads*, 1872-73, p. xxxiii.

10. G. M. Best, *Iron Horses to Promontory*, 13-17, 32 (San Marino, 1969).

11. Railway and Locomotive Historical Society *Bulletin No. 68*, p. 40 (November, 1946), offers a history of the Union Iron Works. Other details are given in an obituary of Peter Donahue in *Railroad Gazette*, December 18, 1885, pp. 804-05.

12. A summary of Scott's life is given in Alonzo Phelps, *Contemporary Biography of California's Representative Men*, 1881, pp. 160-64.

13. *San Francisco City Directory*, 1859, p. 168. See also E. H. Charlton, *Railway Car Builders of the United States and Canada*, 43 (Los Angeles, 1957), for a short account on Kimball.

14. *National Car Builder*, September, 1870, p. 3.

15. Railway and Locomotive Historical Society *Bulletin No. 48*, p. 26 (March, 1939), contains a general history of the Sacramento shops. Other details are included in *Bulletin No. 65*, p. 7 (October, 1944).

16. *Ibid.*; *American Railroad Journal*, April, 1888, p. 190.

17. Historians traditionally ascribe these engines to A. J. Stevens, even though a contemporary account credits them to a C. W. Stevens. An obituary of C. W. Stevens, however, in the February 25, 1882, issue of *American Railroad Journal*, p. 122, credits him with building the first locomotive in California and serving as the superintendent of Oregon's premiere railway.

18. "The Janus. . .," in *Journal of Transport History*, May, 1964, p. 175.

19. *National Car Builder*, May, 1880, p. 79.

20. G. L. Dunscomb, *A Century of Southern Pacific Locomotives*, 22 (San Marino, 1962).

21. *Biographical Dictionary of Railway Officials of America*, 1906, p. 641. See also R. and L. H. S. *Bulletin No. 48*.

Philip M. Montesano
Instructor of history at San Francisco
City College and the College of San
Mateo; author of articles on the
history of blacks in California.

San Francisco Black Churches in the Early 1860's: Political Pressure Group

REVERBERATING with the click of dancing shoes, Assembly Hall, at the corner of Post and Kearny streets, hummed with activity. Singing violins bowed out waltzes, polkas, mazurkas, and lancers and informed passers-by that a party was merrily progressing behind the bricked walls. Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church was holding a supper-dance: supper with the clergy, dancing after they left. From such happy occasions it might appear that the San Francisco black community of the early 1860's was content and that few racial problems existed. In reality, however, this period witnessed substantial efforts by the black community to repeal laws denying black people suffrage and prohibiting them from testifying and acting as witnesses in court cases involving white people.

In the struggle to change these discriminatory laws, black churches played a significant role. As in other black communities throughout the United States, black churches in San Francisco were institutions created "for survival" and "a creative means of calling forth pride in achievement to disprove the white assumption of Negro inferiority."¹ Beginning in the 1850's and continuing throughout the 1860's, San Francisco black churches became involved in the civil rights problems of the black community. They provided meeting places to launch political protests. They also provided leadership, a leadership which worked very closely with lay leaders to improve the civil rights of black people in San Francisco and in California.

The three black churches of San Francisco—Third Baptist, Bethel African Methodist Episcopal, and African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Zion—began their religious and social-cultural activities in the same year, 1852. Commencing with a gathering of nine black Christians, the Third Baptist Church on Dupont between Greenwich and Filbert employed its first pastor, Rev. Charles Satchell, a black minister from Cincinnati, in 1854 and in 1860, Rev. Thomas Howell, a white clergyman.² Bethel AME Church engaged Rev. Joseph Thompson, a white clergyman, to serve as its first pastor and by 1854 had selected Rev. Thomas M. D. Ward, a black clergyman, to take over. Ward moved his congregation from Jackson and Virginia to a carpenter shop refitted for religious services on Scott Street until he could purchase a larger building on Powell Street between Jackson and Pacific.³ AME

Zion Church first held its services in a building on Stockton Street near Vallejo and, four years later, the congregation moved to Pacific Street near Powell under the leadership of its vigorous black pastor, Rev. John J. Moore.⁴ By the beginning of the 1860's, the churches had established themselves and had begun to expand their social and religious activities.⁵

In the 1860's the black community and its three churches were located in an area bounded by Washington Street, Larkin Street, and the Bay of San Francisco.⁶ There, the black community carried on its daily activities which largely centered around the churches that provided educational and recreational programs and economic assistance to the needy. Throughout the 1850's and 1860's, the churches sponsored a large number of festivals, fairs, musical concerts, recitals by Sabbath School children, and evening lectures. These activities—activities common to both white and black churches—had dual purposes of money raising and community education.⁷ Third Baptist Church, for example, sponsored a musical evening featuring the works of Mozart, Rossini, Schubert, and Haydn;⁸ Zion and Bethel churches featured lectures by the popular Unitarian minister, Rev. Thomas Starr King, and by a black physician, Dr. Ezra R. Johnson. Rev. King lectured on such subjects as patriotism and the Hosea Bigelow poetry of James Russell Lowell.⁹ Dr. Johnson's scientific lectures examined, then demonstrated, laughing gas and even offered the audience a chance to get "high."¹⁰

In addition, the black churches provided economic assistance to needy black brothers in times of want, disaster, or war. As did most white churches, black congregations supported orphans and widows with food and money. They aided the victims of natural disasters such as the 1861-1862 Sacramento flood,¹¹ raised money to help the sick and wounded of the black 54th Massachusetts Regiment during the Civil War,¹² and sent money to aid Freedmen.¹³ They also collected money to help their Native American brothers in California.¹⁴

In their churches, black people could find refuge from the hostile white community,¹⁵ as well as "cultural" enrichment, recreational outlets, and economic assistance. In the arms of the church, black people of the San Francisco community could also find outspoken champions for civil rights: black clergy and lay leaders.

When black people first arrived in California—before the establishment of the black churches—they immediately encountered racial prejudice and discriminatory legislation directed against them. The constitutional convention which met in Monterey in September of 1849 passed legislation which prohibited black people from voting.¹⁶ When the state legislature convened in 1850, it added another disability, the exclusion of the testimony of black people in court cases involving white people.¹⁷ A year later, the legislature enacted a measure which prohibited black people from acting as witnesses

in court cases involving white people.¹⁸ Not content with these measures, the legislature considered bills in 1852, 1857, and 1858 which would have forbade the immigration of black people into the state.¹⁹

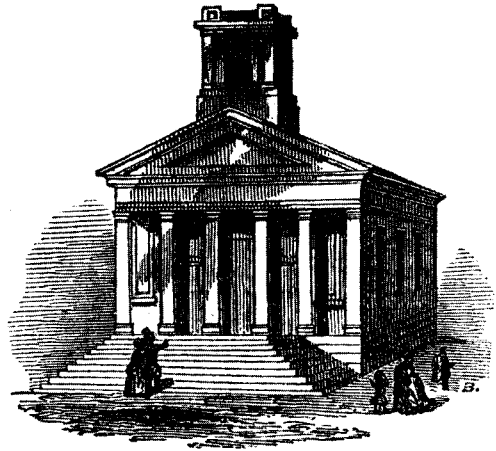
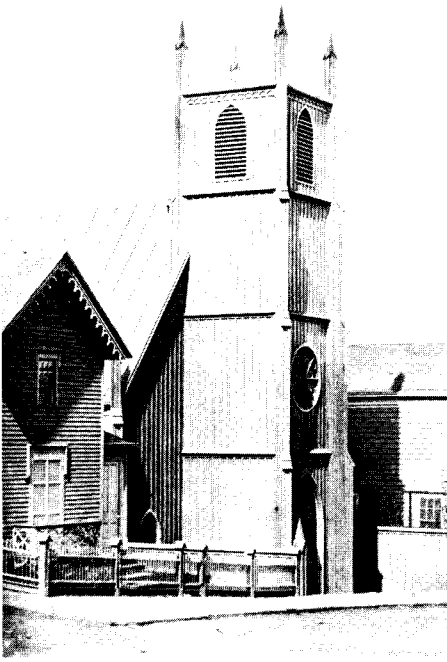
San Francisco black people resisted attempts to deny them their civil rights. Before the churches became involved in the civil rights movement, men such as Mifflin W. Gibbs and Peter Lester had urged black people to refuse to pay taxes until black people received voting rights. The efforts of the two men received support from the recently-established churches and from the first Colored Convention which met in 1855 in the Sacramento Bethel AME Church. Rev. Moore of Zion Church and Reverends Ward and Sanderson, both of San Francisco Bethel AME Church, worked to overturn the anti-black laws with Gibbs, Lester, and Jonas H. Townsend, the future editor of the first black-owned newspaper in San Francisco, *Mirror of the Times*.²⁰ The convention agreed to petition the legislature to repeal the testimony and witness laws. Two conventions, both using Bethel Church facilities, followed the first. These conventions mapped strategy for a renewed attack on the laws, but, again, the strategy failed, and the legislature refused to act. Greatly discouraged at the failures and at the Supreme Court's Dred Scott decision, some of the delegates decided to leave California for British Columbia, a new land of gold and hoped-for freedom.²¹

When the new decade arrived, the black community received the help of the Unitarian Rev. Thomas Starr King and of a future black newspaper owner and editor, Philip A. Bell. Under their leadership, the community renewed its efforts to pressure the legislature into repealing the adverse laws. Once again, the pastors Moore and Ward resumed their activities which urged the legislature to rescind the testimony and witness laws.

In 1862, the black community petitioned the state legislature to repeal the two laws, but, again, the legislature failed to act. Rev. Moore encouraged the community not to give up or relax pressure on the San Francisco legislators. The San Francisco *Lunar Visitor*, Rev. Moore's own newspaper, subsequently published a statement of black people's goals for all the citizens of San Francisco to read and consider:

1. We want *unity of sympathy*....
2. We want *unity of purpose*....
3. We want *unity of particular interest* in our own race....
4. We want *unity of confidence* in ourselves....
5. We want the *unity of self-respect*....²²

Rev. Moore's efforts received support two months later when editor Bell of the newly-established San Francisco *Pacific Appeal* ran a number of editorials urging the black community to renew the repeal effort. One of his editorials stated:

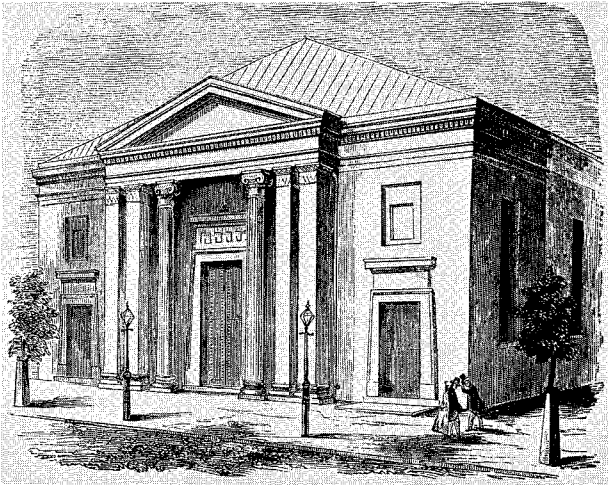


We have a year before us in which to work for the obtainment of our rights at the hands of the next Legislature. We failed this year from want of time, and from the lack of unity of action among ourselves. We should not have so many different plans of action, but we should work in harmony together, each one, if necessary yielding somewhat of his own opinion for the sake of uniting on some general measure.²³

While the *Pacific Appeal* editorialized, ministers preached, and community meetings continued, several outside factors began influencing the legislature's attitude toward repeal. The Chinese, whose number in California was growing, began causing the white community and its legislators more worry than the black people. (Blacks in California numbered around 4,086 in 1860 and 4,272 in 1870; Chinese numbered around 34,933 in 1860 and 49,277 in 1870.) In addition, the emancipation of slaves in the District of Columbia and the Emancipation Proclamation, issued January 1, 1863, indicated to the legislature that it must seriously consider repeal of the laws.²⁴

In January of 1863, the senate passed and sent to the assembly two bills which would repeal the testimony and witness laws. After debate and delays, the assembly passed the bills in March, and Governor Leland Stanford then signed the measures into law. The combined efforts of the church and community leaders, fear of the increasing number of Chinese, and the Emancipation Proclamation had finally brought success. On March 21, the *Pacific Appeal* enthusiastically praised the legislature for its action, but realistically warned the black community:

As the Testimony Bills have now passed both branches of the Legislature, and as we will hereafter be under the protection of the law, in all our dealings and actions in the respective localities in which our people reside, we should be more guarded than ever against committing any acts that might be construed, by the enemies of our advancement, as a consequence of the repeal of those unjust laws.²⁵



By the early 1860's San Francisco's black churches expanded to include social and political activities. In 1862, Bethel AME purchased a frame building on Powell between Jackson and Pacific streets (far left) for \$5,500. They met on the site until the 1940's. Third Baptist met for a short time at a sanctuary (near left) on the corner of Jane and Natoma streets. AME Zion moved into a classic structure (above) on Stockton between Clay and Sacramento, purchased from a Unitarian congregation in 1863-64. *California Historical Society.*



Crusading journalist Phillip A. Bell (above) aided black ministers in mobilizing their congregations. One result was the Petition of 1862 (right) calling for the repeal of state laws which prohibited black citizens from testifying or acting as witnesses in court cases involving white citizens. *California Historical Society*

"We the Senators, the Senate and Assembly of the State of California, in reading the petition of the petitioners, and residents of the State of California, respectfully represent unto your honorable bodies that the Statutes of the State of California, prohibiting persons of color, or men of negro blood from being witnesses in an action or hearing to which a white person is a party, and forbidding persons who have no legal proof or more of negro blood from giving evidence in favor of, or against, any white person, in a criminal action, ought, in the opinion of your petitioners, to be repealed. That said Statutes are unjust and oppressive both to the white and the black; that persons of color are prevented for the reason that the only witnesses to the commission of persons guilty of the said offenses are persons disqualified by these Statutes from testifying. That the honest white man is also stopped from the use of the existing evidence of persons guilty of the said offenses."

That perjured and fraudulent claims and evidences of perjury are often placed in the hands of white men, for perjury upon their face to have prison in due course of business, against colored persons, for the purpose of excluding colored evidence of persons not satisfactory; and these claims are often made upon and the amounts received."

Upon Petitioners are of opinion that judges and jury ought to be allowed to judge of the weight which should be given to the evidence of colored persons; and that they should be as capable of determining whether a black man is speaking the truth, as a white man."

We believe that the exclusion of the testimony of a race of men, is necessary, unless of a race held as inferior, or one having an inferior position. That the exclusion of the testimony of the descendants of Africans, in the United States, is an acknowledgment of their inferiority to whites, and should be discontinued with it."

In presenting this petition, we respectfully suggest that justice and an impartial administration of the laws, both in civil and criminal proceedings, require that the 3rd clause of section 3744 of the Civil Code, and the 14th section of Article 1 of the Constitution, be repealed."

And your petitioners will ever remain, Sirs, your obedient servants."

The black community had registered a triumph, yet two other serious disabilities remained: non-eligibility to vote and segregation in the school system. With the end of the Civil War and postwar readjustments, the black community had relaxed. Bell, Ward, and Moore, however, resumed their warnings that the black community must continue to fight against racial prejudice. A public meeting held in Bethel AME Church in San Francisco in May of 1865 discussed the calling of a convention to plan strategy for an attack on suffrage disqualification and school segregation. The convention met later that year in the Sacramento Bethel AME Church to examine the questions, and the delegates at the convention resumed the sending of petitions and the pressuring of state legislators.²⁶

The fight for voting rights continued for five discouraging years—years which saw the militant Rev. Moore transferred to the South to become bishop of the South Episcopal District of the Zion Church. Voting rights were finally obtained with the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment, but schools in California remained legally segregated until 1880.²⁷ By then, Bishop Ward had also left San Francisco to assume new duties in Atlanta, Georgia.²⁸

The San Francisco black community and, in particular, Zion and Bethel churches had lost two dynamic leaders who were not easily replaced. Yet, the political struggles continued under the leadership of laymen such as Bell, motivated by the black community's own desire to resist white prejudice.²⁹

Throughout the 1850's and especially the early 1860's the black churches in San Francisco had firmly established themselves as religious institutions, which continue to serve the black community today.³⁰ But, of even greater importance, the churches and their pastors had established a tradition of social and political involvement in community affairs. They provided the black community with education and recreational programs, economic assistance to the needy, meeting facilities, and active political leadership. They were instrumental in pressuring the California state legislature to repeal the anti-black testimony and witness laws. As E. Franklin Frazier said of the black churches during the Civil War period, they played an "important role in the organization" of the black community and provided an "important arena for political life" among black people.³¹ The political activities of the black churches and their religious leaders in San Francisco clearly indicate the truth of his statement.

NOTES

1. Joseph R. Washington, Jr., *Black Religion: The Negro and Christianity in the United States* (Boston, 1964), 296.

2. San Francisco *Bulletin*, January 14, 1865, p. 5; Third Baptist Church, *Our Souvenir Book* (San Francisco, 1967), n.p. In 1852-1853, there were approximately twenty churches of all denominations in San Francisco. See San Francisco *Directory*, 1852, p. 69 and 1852-53, pp. 20-21.

3. San Francisco *Directory*, 1852-65; Bethel AME Church, *Centennial Celebration Bethel AME Church* (San Francisco, 1952), 3-4; *Bulletin*, January 14, 1865, p. 5.
4. San Francisco *Directory*, 1852-1865; San Francisco *Pacific Appeal*, January 17, 1874, p. 1; AME Zion Church, *The Centennial Year* (San Francisco, 1952), 4; Delilah L. Beasley, *The Negro Trail Blazers of California* (Los Angeles, 1919), 158-159.
5. In San Francisco, both black and white churches were establishing themselves in the 1850's. By the 1860's, these churches had accumulated some wealth and were expanding the sizes of their buildings. See San Francisco *Directory*, 1852-1871.
6. Rudolph M. Lapp, "The Negro in Gold Rush California," *The Journal of Negro History* (JNH), XLIX (April, 1964), 84-85; William P. Humphreys, compiler, *Atlas of the City and County of San Francisco* (Philadelphia, 1876), 7, 10-11, 18-19.
7. The files of the *Bulletin* give numerous examples of church activities. See especially, *Bulletin*, December 21, 1861, p. 3, February 13, 1862, p. 3, March 7, 1862, p. 3, January 2, 1865, p. 3, and January 9, 1865, p. 3.
8. *Pacific Appeal*, September 26, 1863, p. 2.
9. *Bulletin*, September 23, 1862, p. 3; *Pacific Appeal*, October 25, 1862, November 1, 1862, p. 2, December 13, 1862, p. 2, July 11, 1863, p. 3, July 25, 1863, p. 2, and August 1, 1863, p. 2. For a brief biographical sketch of Rev. King, see Horace Davis, *Fifty Years of the First Unitarian Church* (San Francisco, 1901), 57-63.
10. *Pacific Appeal*, August 15, 1863, p. 2. For a brief biographical sketch of Dr. Johnson, see Philip M. Montesano, "The Amazing Dr. Ezra Johnson," *Urban West*, 1 (January-February, 1968), 21-22.
11. *Bulletin*, December 18, 1861, p. 3; San Francisco *Alta California*, December 19, 1861, p. 1.
12. *Pacific Appeal*, October 25, 1863, p. 2, October 31, 1863, p. 4, and November 7, 1863, p. 3.
13. *Bulletin*, June 1, 1864, p. 3, September 19, 1864, p. 3, and September 20, 1864, p. 3.
14. *Bulletin*, December 10, 1864, p. 3.
15. E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Church in America* (New York, 1963), 46, 83-86; Carter G. Woodson, *The History of the Negro Church* (Second edition, Washington, 1945), 164-179.
16. J. Ross Browne, *Report of the Debates in the Constitution of California* (Washington, 1850), 43, 61-75, 137-152, 330-341; Woodrow J. Hansen, *The Search for Authority in California* (Oakland, 1960), 166-174.
17. *Statutes of California*, 1850, p. 230; *Assembly Journal*, First Session, 1850, p. 1001; *Senate Journal*, First Session, 1850, p. 289.
18. *Assembly Bill No. 57*, 1851, California State Archives.
19. Lapp, "Negro Rights in Gold Rush California," *California Historical Society Quarterly* (CHSQ), 45 (March, 1966), 12-13; Eugene H. Berwanger, *The Frontier Against Slavery* (Chicago, 1967), 76. Leon F. Litwack, *North of Slavery* (Phoenix ed., Chicago, 1965), 93-94, indicates the patterns of anti-black laws passed in Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, and Iowa and the relationship to the California situation. California followed the leadership of these states in its legal discriminatory practices.
20. *Proceedings of the First State Convention of Colored Citizens of the State of California* (Sacramento, 1855), 14-17; Mifflin W. Gibbs, *Shadow and Light* (Washington, 1902), 44-45, 47, 63; Lapp, "Negro in Gold Rush California," *JNH*, XLIX (April, 1964), 93, 95-96, "Negro Rights Activities in Gold Rush California," *CHSQ*, 45 (March, 1966), 7-9, and "Jeremiah Sanderson: Early California Negro," *JNH*, 53 (October, 1968), 325. See also, Beasley, *The Negro Trail Blazers*, 54-56. The San

San Francisco *Mirror of the Times* commenced in 1856. It appears that the paper lasted for about two years. There appear to be only two existing issues, one in August and one in December of 1857.

21. Lapp, "Negro Rights Activities in Gold Rush California," *CHSQ*, 45 (March, 1966), 8-17 and "The Negro in Gold Rush California," *JNH*, XLIX (April, 1964), 94-98; Litwack, *North of Slavery*, 31, 49-51; Beasley, *Negro Trail Blazers*, 54-60; *Proceedings*, 1856, pp. 12-13, 30, 34-35; *Pacific Appeal*, May 3, 1862, p. 2. For the movement to British Columbia, see F. W. Howay, "The Negro Immigration into Vancouver Island in 1858," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, 3 (April, 1939), 101-113, and Gibbs, *Shadow and Light*, 63.

22. San Francisco *Lunar Visitor*, February, 1862, p. 2; *Petition to Allow Negroes to act as Witnesses in Legal Actions*, Manuscript, California Historical Society Library, San Francisco.

23. *Pacific Appeal*, April 19, 1862, p. 2. See also the files of the *Pacific Appeal*, 1862-63, for other editorials and for community discussions of the problem.

24. Berwanger, *Frontier Against Slavery*, 73-77; Mary R. Coolidge, *Chinese Immigration* (New York, 1909), 62-64; S. W. Kung, *Chinese in American Life* (Seattle, 1962), 71-72; Gunther Barth, *Bitter Strength: A History of the Chinese in the United States 1850-1870* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), 136, 144-145. The figures in the text were compiled from Francis A. Walker, *A Compendium of the Ninth Census, June 1, 1870*, (Washington, 1872), p. 12 and Thomas W. Chinn, ed., *A History of the Chinese in California: A Syllabus* (San Francisco, 1969), 21.

In his book, Berwanger points out that up to the early 1860's the Chinese in California were denied their civil rights because legislators feared that granting them rights would create a precedent for extending them to the more-despised black people. This view contrasts with that of Chinn. On pages 23-26, Chinn indicates how the attitudes toward the Chinese changed in the early 1850's from welcome to strong dislike. This is clearly illustrated in the series of anti-Chinese laws passed from 1850-1879. From Chinn's analysis, it would appear that as the number of Chinese increased so did racial antagonism. For the blacks, this meant that the white community would view them as a lesser threat (because of their small numbers) than the Chinese.

25. *Senate Journal*, Fourteenth Session, 1863, pp. 67, 119, 131-132, 316; *Assembly Journal*, Fourteenth Session, 1863, pp. 312-313, 316, 336; *Statutes of California*, 1863, pp. 60, 69; *Pacific Appeal*, March 21, 1863, p. 2.

26. San Francisco *Elevator*, May 19, 1865, p. 3; *Proceedings*, 1865, pp. 15-19, 22, 26-28.

27. *Statutes of California*, 1880, pp. 47-48; *Elevator*, June 26, 1868, p. 2.

28. *Elevator*, November 16, 1872, p. 3. Rev. Ward became the Bethel AME Bishop of California in 1868.

29. A good example of the community's actions occurred during the school crisis of 1868-69. With the lay leadership somewhat divided, community parents decided to boycott the move of the black school to an old run-down building. They simply refused to send their children to that school. For more information, see the files of the *Bulletin*, 1868-1869. Philip A. Bell, one of the main lay leaders of the San Francisco community, remained active in the community almost up to the time of his death in 1889. The *Bulletin*, April 26, 1889, p. 3 contains a notice of his death.

30. The three churches are presently located at 1399 McAllister St. (Third Baptist Church), 970 Laguna St. (Bethel AME Church), and 2159 Golden Gate Ave. (AME Zion). For more information about recent church activities, see the Third Baptist Church, *Our Souvenir Book*; Bethel AME Church, *Centennial Celebration Bethel AME Church*, and AME Zion Church, *The Centennial Year*.

31. Frazier, *The Negro Church*, 83.

Brian McGinty

*Monterey attorney and author
of numerous articles on wide-
ranging subjects.*

Charles Warren Stoddard: The Pleasure of His Company

IT HAD BEEN NEARLY THIRTY YEARS since Charles Warren Stoddard had last seen Monterey. He had come on a coastal steamer in the fading autumn of 1878, climbing ashore at the old wharf in the dead of night and shivering his way through sandy streets to a room at Girardin's lodging house. His visit had been short. After only a few weeks, he had left the sleepy village to return to his cluttered flat on a sandy hillside in San Francisco. But the sights and sounds and smells of the old seaport had indelibly marked the sensitive young poet, and, in the eventful years that followed, he could never forget them. When he descended from the train at Monterey station in the twilight glow of July 12, 1905—portly, now, and with a silky white beard—Stoddard felt a sharp but unmistakable sensation. The wanderer had, at last, come home.¹

Monterey had changed, to be sure. There was a bustle in the evening air, and a larger crowd—or so it seemed—than he had seen in the old town before. The faces were strange, and excited voices twanged with strident Yankee inflections. But Stoddard was not daunted. He wanted, above all, a setting in which to rest and reflect—and, perhaps, to find consolation for his lonely heart. Where else in all the world could he better do that than in Monterey, the legendary capital of old California?

From the station he went to the doors of the city's newest inn, the imposing Monterey Hotel on Alvarado Street. There he dined on a hearty meal, retired to a cheery room, and, as he recorded in his diary the following morning, "slept beautifully."²

It was in Rome in 1877 that Charlie Stoddard wrote: "As for myself, I have torn up my roots so often that they do not strike into any soil with much vigor."³ There was no Bedouin blood in his veins. But, from the first, the nomad impulse was as strong as if he had been born in a gypsy caravan, and he had traveled as much in his sixty-two years as a dozen usual men. Author of half a score of books of prose and verse, friend and confidant of the brightest lights of late nineteenth-century letters, he remained best known as literature's rolling stone, an ingratiating but inveterate wanderer with silky beard and notebook.

Charles Warren Stoddard had been born on August 7, 1843, in Rochester, New York, to an old New England family that included such diverse mem-

bers as Jonathan Edwards and Aaron Burr.⁴ With his family, he crossed the Isthmus of Nicaragua in 1855, arriving at the age of twelve in San Francisco, a sensitive youth dazzled by the exuberance of the frontier metropolis. With an older invalid brother, he returned to New York two years later. There he lived with his grandparents, stern and Hell-fearing evangelical Protestants. An uncle stood in the house and sang in mournful tones, "On slippery rocks I see them stand, while fiery billows roll below."⁵ "I was threatened with nervous prostration," Stoddard later recalled, "and every hour I grew more feeble and excited."⁶ In 1859 he returned to San Francisco by way of Panama, and was again enrolled in school. But it soon became apparent that his mind was too troubled for any but the slightest concentration. With his parents' consent, he left school to look for work.

The search was not easy. He spent a week in a clothing store, a month in a toy shop, and, finally, two and a half years in the book store of C. Beach. There, at last, he found friends in the rows of dusty volumes that lined the walls. And there were pleasant hours that could be stolen for scribbling bits of verse. His sketches were offered, shyly, under the alliterative pseudonym "Pip Pepperpod" to San Francisco's leading literary journal, *The Golden Era*. Stoddard was surprised and encouraged when they were accepted. Soon after the first verse appeared, he was visited at the store by Thomas Starr King, Unitarian minister and literary leader of the frontier city. King had learned the identity of "Pip Pepperpod" and generously praised the young poet. He invited Charlie to his series of lectures on Longfellow, Bryant, Holmes, and Whittier, each of whom had sent him an unpublished poem to read at the lectures, and urged that the boy leave his job and return to school.⁷

He resumed his studies, first in San Francisco, then across the bay in Oakland's Brayton Hall. But he avoided football and sprinting and could not fathom the secrets of ancient history or the mathematical method. He savored the rolling rhythms of Tennyson and passed his hours scribbling iambic rhymes and double quatrains. But he found that the ogre routine could not forever be avoided. His old nervousness returned. His classes became a horror. Then he suffered a nervous breakdown.

His sister had married a Hawaiian planter and gone to live in what was then the Sandwich Islands. "Ever since my first journey across the Isthmus, through Nicaragua," Charlie later recalled, "my memories had been haunted by visions of the forest jungles where the wild parrot screamed and the monkeys swung from bough to bough with the ease and grace of trained athletes; where the placid river flowed under a mantle of flowering foliage." Following their doctor's advice, the family decided to send him to Hawaii to try to recover his health. In 1864 he sailed on a clipper outbound from the Golden Gate on what he later called "a cruise that was destined to influence the whole course of my life."⁸ Indolent months on the sunny beaches of the islands and romps with native boys in coconut palms all had their

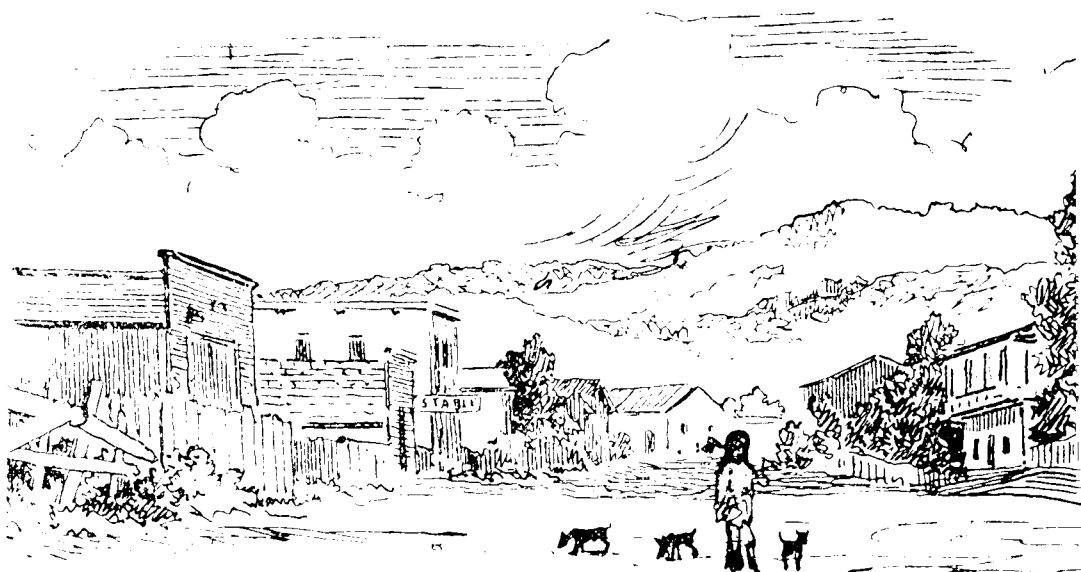
desired effect. He lost track of time on the face of a volcanic peak. "How long did I stay there in the mountain heights," he later asked, "among the mysteries undreamed of in that world below? Well, really, I cannot tell you. No one kept tally up yonder; and as for pinning me down to so fine a point, I'd as soon think of someone who had been in Paradise for a while suddenly sitting up and asking, 'What time is it?'"⁹ It was then, perhaps, that he decided, as he later confided to a friend: "I'd rather be a South Sea Islander sitting naked in the sun before my grass hut, than be the Pope of Rome."¹⁰

Charlie had nothing against the pope. He was, in fact, strongly attracted to the Roman church—its solemn ritual, its vestments and incense, its venerable traditions steeped in the antiquity of Christendom. He was troubled, and the Church's self-assured promise of an eternity peopled by angels and archangels, cherubim and seraphim, spoke lovingly to his Puritan-starved soul. "What shall I do to be saved?" he asked on his return to San Francisco. In 1867, at the age of twenty-four, he answered the question. He converted to the Catholic church.

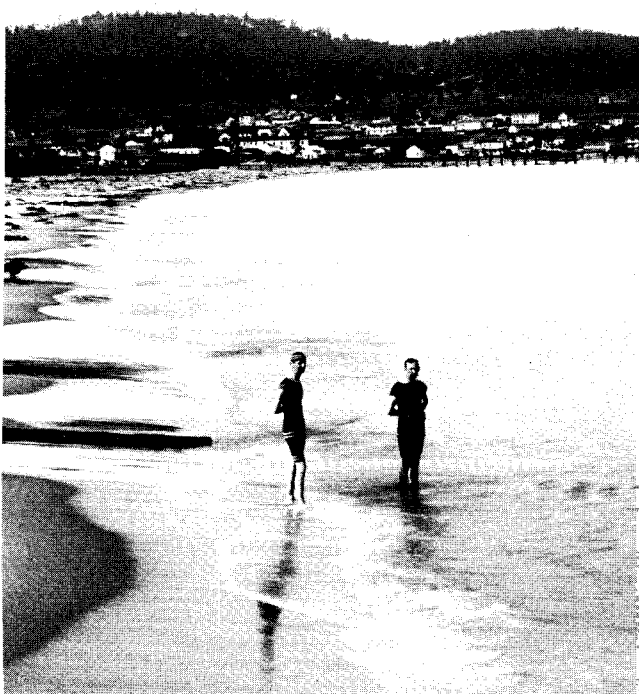
Charlie Stoddard continued to write and contribute to local journals. With a quick smile, a shy but gracious personality, and a sensitive gift for the use of words, he met and became friends with the leading artists and writers of the city. It was in 1867 that his friend, the publisher Anton Roman, collaborated with yet another friend, Francis Bret Harte, and still another friend, the celebrated artist, William Keith, to issue a sumptuous illustrated edition of the *Poems* of Charles Warren Stoddard. The slender volume, elegantly bound and stamped in gold, created a spirited controversy. Charlie himself had retired to the fastness of Yosemite at the time of publication. When, at last, he came down from the mountain, he allowed that the publication had been premature, and that his forte might lie more in prose than in verse.

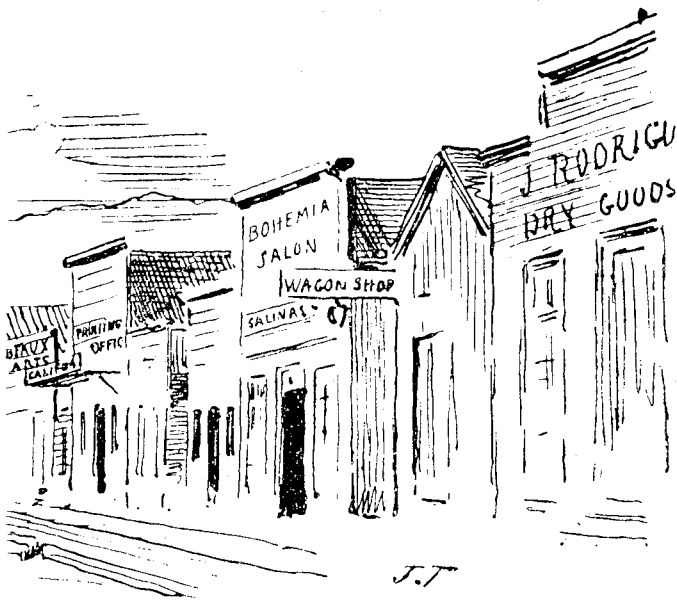
It was Charlie Stoddard who, in June of 1870, greeted the moccasined and sombreroed judge-turned-poet, Joaquin Miller, when he arrived by steamer in San Francisco. "He must have grown up like a weed, off yonder in Oregon," Stoddard observed. No sooner had they exchanged greetings than Miller proposed, "Well, let us go and talk with the poets!"

His closest friend, then as in later years, was the poetess Ina Coolbrith. Miller described her as "divinely tall and most divinely fair."¹¹ Ina, in turn, was drawn by Charlie's soft blue eyes and curly brown hair, which excited her maternal instincts. When Anton Roman asked Bret Harte to edit a new magazine which he proposed to publish, Harte went to Charlie and Ina and exacted their promises to make regular contributions. Each owned a key to the journal's office on Portsmouth Square, and, when they gathered in the little room, wit and geniality sparkled. Soon they were admiringly referred to as "The Golden Gate Trinity."¹² The first issue of *The Overland Monthly* appeared in July, 1868, with Stoddard's poem, "In the Sierras." Harte's short



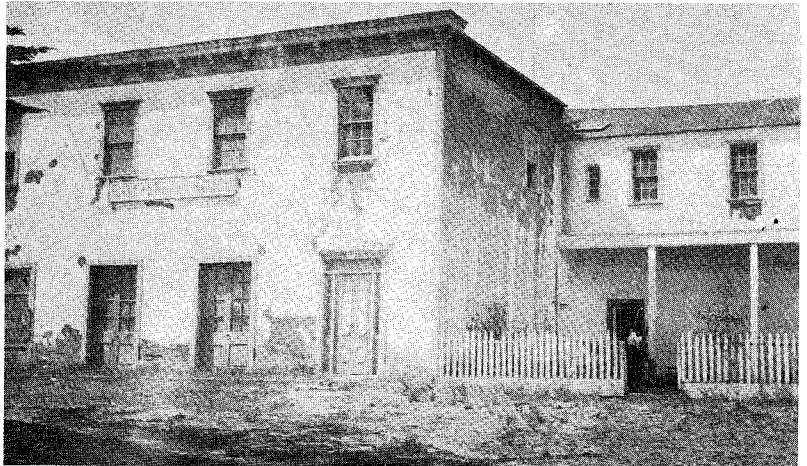
The romantic young Stoddard (left) found Monterey more appealing for its old Spanish flavor and grace of living than for its celebrated natural beauty and ocean beach (below). *Society of California Pioneers; California Historical Society.*





In 1878 when Charles Stoddard first debarked from a coastal steamer at Monterey, broad Alvarado Street (left) was the shop-lined but sleepy thoroughfare of the old Spanish capital. As pictured in *The Argonaut*, October 26, 1878, the street's main fixtures included a Bohemia Saloon and beaux arts center.

For a time Stoddard and his friends stayed at the Girardin home and boarding house (right), a damp, cavernous building which became known as the Stevenson house after the author's stay there the following year. *California Historical Society.*



story, "The Luck of Roaring Camp," appeared in the second number and attracted instant acclaim. "The Outcasts of Poker Flat" followed, then "Tennessee's Partner," "Brown of Calaveras," and a whole series of California tales that delighted readers with a fresh mixture of realism and sentiment.

Stoddard returned to Hawaii for a visit in 1868. From there he contributed to the *Overland* an exotic prose poem called "Chumming with a Savage," based on his island experiences. "Now you have struck it!" Bret Harte told him.¹³ In sensuous, exotic prose, Stoddard painted a bizarre but alluring portrait of the islands. He visited Tahiti in 1870 and was in Hawaii again in 1872, all the while placing more sketches in the *Overland*, and others in the *Atlantic*, *Lippincott's* and *Galaxy*. William Dean Howells, editor of the *Atlantic*, accepted a story called "A Prodigal in Tahiti." Howells thought highly of the island stories, and later wrote to Charlie: "You knew long ago

how I delighted in those things, the lightest, sweetest, wildest, freshest things that ever were written about the life of that summer ocean. I believe I was the first to feel their rare quality, and I hope you won't correct me if I wasn't, for I have always been proud of it."¹⁴ By the fall of 1873, a collection of Stoddard's tropical sketches was published in Boston under the title of *South-Sea Idylls*.¹⁵

In October, 1873, Charlie sailed from New York for England, where he arranged for the British publication of his book and wrote letters of his travels to the San Francisco *Chronicle*. He slept in Anne Hathaway's cottage and in London greeted Mark Twain, whom he had first met in San Francisco. The humorist was then lecturing, and, as Stoddard remembered: "He seized me at once and said how nervous and miserable he was—and I guess he was as lonesome as I—and that, if he was to continue to make a success of the lectures, I'd have to stay with him. 'Let your letters go for a while; I'll pay your salary and you just come and companion me.' And that was all there was to it. I just had to go."¹⁶

They breakfasted on chops and went for long walks in the afternoon. At eight o'clock Twain appeared on stage, as Charlie remembered, "rubbing his hands in the manner of Lady Macbeth, and bowing repeatedly."¹⁷ At the Langham Hotel, they exchanged memories of San Francisco, talked of Hawaii, of Hannibal, Missouri, and of the Mississippi River. "I could have written his biography at the end of the season," Stoddard said.¹⁸ Twain was restless. When he could not sleep, he mixed exotic cocktails, saying: "That certainly was a horrible mess, Charley. My, my, what a fearful taste it's left on my tongue. I've got to make another to take that awful taste out of my mouth." He continued the process interminably, his speech meanwhile getting slower and slower. Stoddard finally went to bed, remembering "the last picture I'd have as I dropped off to sleep was of Mark bending over me, glass in hand, uttering the second syllable of a word he began a full minute ago. It was wonderfully funny."¹⁹

When Twain returned to the United States, Stoddard crossed over to the continent. He chummed with the expatriate Joaquin Miller in Rome and broke his arm while riding horseback on the campagna. He moved in the inner circles of the Catholic church and twice payed his respects to the pope.²⁰ He visited Joe Strong, a young California artist then studying in Munich, and sat for a portrait. Already, he was thinking of ending his days in some rose-embowered Italian monastery. Appropriately, Strong painted Charlie as a monk. From Europe, he drifted to the Holy Land, Suez and Egypt.

He was back in California in 1878, once more a leading member of San Francisco's Bohemian colony. It was with Joe Strong, now back from Munich, L. G. J. de Finod, a "wild French academician and a mighty hunter," and Fred Somers, editor of San Francisco's lively journal *The*

Argonaut, that Charlie first came to Monterey in September of 1878.²¹ They were greeted at the wharf by the old town's resident Bohemian, the painter Jules Tavernier, who "from the planks above fairly howled out a welcome."²² Dr. J. P. E. Heintz, newly married to the daughter of Jean Girardin, escorted the visitors to his father-in-law's home, a great "barn-like building"²³ which doubled as a boarding house, where the gaunt Robert Louis Stevenson was to lodge the following year. In the legendary back room of Jules Simoneau's restaurant on the Monterey plaza, they breakfasted on raw sardines, cantaloupes and "shuddering wine."²⁴ They declined to remain in the damp chambers of the Girardin house where, Charlie said, "every sound was shared in common, and nothing whatever was in the least degree private or confidential,"²⁵ and moved to the St. Charles Hotel, "a summer house without windows, save the one set in the door of each chamber."²⁶ At length they persuaded Lizzie and Nolie Strong, Joe's sisters, who had rented a whole adobe on Alvarado Street, to provide them with regular meals. They found rooms in the *casa* of Jacob P. Leese, originally built by Thomas O. Larkin. "Broad verandas surrounded us on four sides," Stoddard wrote; "the windows sunk in the thick walls had seats deep enough to hold me and my lap tablet full in the sunshine—whenever it leaked through the fog."²⁷

The Bohemians threw open the doors of the Strong menage, from which they sent out cards, "redolent with tea and brown soap," inscribed:

The Invitation

You are most cordially invited to meet the San Francisco Embassy at the summer residence of the Misses Strong, on Sunday afternoon, to participate in a "Bohemian blow out," given after the most approved and *distingué* fashion. Hereof fail not.
R. S. V. P.

Adobe Palace, Alvarado Avenue,
September 29.²⁸

Stoddard stayed in Monterey only a few weeks. But it was apparent that there was an affinity between the old town and Charlie, a chemical harmony between host and visitor, subject and admiring artist. "Here I began to live," he wrote of the Leese adobe; "here I heard the harp-like tinkle of the first piano brought to the California coast; here also the guitar was touched sensitively by her grace the august lady of the house, who scorned the English tongue—the more eloquent and rhythmical Spanish prevailed under her roof."²⁹

Strong and Tavernier were in Monterey in 1879 when Stevenson came there, thin and lovesick, but Charlie did not meet the bony Scot until 1880. They were then both in San Francisco, Stoddard ensconced in his "plover's nest" on the side of Rincon Hill, and Stevenson, waiting for the divorce of Mrs. Osbourne, in a rooming-house on Bush Street. Stoddard, Stevenson wrote, was "a certain San Francisco character, who had something of a name

beyond the limits of the city, and was known to many lovers of good English."³⁰ Wandering the streets and alleys of the misty city, as was his lonely wont, Stevenson came on what he called "a new slum, a place of precarious, sandy cliffs, deep, sandy cuttings, solitary ancient houses, and the butt-ends of streets. It was already environed." He climbed a hill, crowned with a row of houses, each with a bit of garden. In front of the last of the houses, he sat down to sketch. "The very first day I saw I was observed, out of the ground-floor window, by a youngish, good-looking fellow, prematurely bald and with an expression both lively and engaging. The second, as we were still the only figures in the landscape, it was no more than natural that we should nod. The third, he came fairly out from his entrenchments, praised my sketch, and with the impromptu cordiality of artists carried me into his apartment."

Such a chamber Stevenson had never seen. It was a "museum of strange objects,—paddles and battle-clubs and baskets, cocoanut bowls, snowy cocoanut plumes—evidences of another earth, another climate, another race, and another (if a ruder) culture."³¹ It was the Scot's first sight of the trappings of the trade wind seas. Charlie gave him a copy of *South-Sea Idylls*—and presented him with a copy of Melville's *Omoo*.³² He talked of his tramps in the islands, his tranquil months in the grassy splendor of native shacks. "You can imagine with what charm he would speak, and with what pleasure I would hear," Stevenson wrote. "It was in such talks, which we were both eager to repeat, that I first heard the names—first fell under the spell—of the islands."³³

Stevenson called often at Stoddard's "plover's nest" on Rincon Hill. When Charlie was away, which was often, the gaunt Scot fumed, then pinned a lament to the door:

O Stoddard! in our hours of ease,
Despondent, dull and hard to please,
When coins and business wrack the brow
A most infernal nuisance thou!

O Stoddard! if to man at all,
To me unveil thy face—
At least to me—
Who at thy club and also in this place
Unwearied have not ceased to call,
Stoddard, for thee!

I scatter curses by the row,
I cease from swearing never;
For men may come and men may go,
But Stoddard's out for ever.³⁴

Stevenson's association with the Bohemian colony in San Francisco remained casual; Stoddard was a more regular member. Jules Tavernier and

Joe Strong had returned to the city from Monterey and established a studio, hung with tapestries and bizarre Indian trophies. Stoddard often slipped into the studio while Joe was painting. He seated himself at the piano and began to play. Belle Strong, Joe's wife and soon to become Stevenson's step-daughter, was fascinated by Charlie's playing. It was a curious repertoire of haunting melodies he had heard in his travels. If there was an audience, he told stories as well. Belle wrote: "While he talked in his beautiful voice he played softly on the piano so that I remember what he told us as poems set to music."³⁵

Belle could never forget the day she met Stoddard. "He was a tall man with fine features," she wrote many years later, "and he had an unusually musical voice. When he met me, he held out both hands and said in that foolish but very genuine way of his, 'Belle, love Charley!' And I did from that moment to the end of his life."³⁶

The truth was that Charlie Stoddard wanted nothing more in the world than love, and there was nothing he found harder to find. He was as close to Ina Coolbrith as to any woman, but they both knew that marriage was out of the question. He did not precisely understand his feelings, but he was sure the world would not, if it knew. His friend, Charles Phillips, approximated the truth when he wrote: "If the Eternal Feminine is an unremitting question mark, then Stoddard should have been born a woman. He has—is—a woman's soul in all its strange and endless changeableness."³⁷ Charlie may once have proposed marriage. At least so he suggested in his autobiographical novel, *For the Pleasure of His Company*. Whether it was to Ina or another girl, it didn't matter. It was the "kind of proposal one might decline without injuring a fellow's feelings in the least." And he was wonderfully relieved when she "let him down,"—as he said, "most beautifully"—and added: "You see when I like a girl ever so much, I seem to like her too well to marry her."³⁸ Thus he spent long hours alone, alternately wrestling with fits of depression and consoling himself with self-searching prayer.

Though his faith retained a flavor of unorthodoxy, Charlie found, more and more, that he could rely on the Church in his hours of anguish. Mark Twain, who thought Stoddard was the "purest man" he had ever known, wrote him in 1885: "I look back with the same shuddering horror upon the days when I believed I believed, as you do upon the days when you were afraid you did not believe."³⁹

Charlie had been three years in California when he resolved to resume his Odyssey and left once again for the Pacific islands. While in Hawaii, he received an invitation to lecture on English literature at Notre Dame University. The prospect of conforming to an academic routine appealed little to his carefree nature, but the promise of a regular income, which his writing had never provided, prompted him to go. Soon he was writing to Belle Strong from Notre Dame: "The dear boys come to classes tired from playing

football and I deliver my lecture in such a gentle monotone that they sleep peacefully. I am very popular."⁴⁰

His first summer was spent in Alaska and the second in Kentucky, where he fell ill. Unable to return to school, he stayed for two years in Kentucky, then departed for another trip to Europe. In Rome he accepted an invitation from Bishop John J. Keane, rector of Catholic University of America, to assume the chair of literature at Washington, D.C.

Stoddard continued to publish books—memories of Father Damien and the lepers of Molokai, journals of his travels to Egypt and Alaska, more reminiscences of his languid days in the tropics, and a reverent, nostalgic essay called "A Memory of Monterey." He maintained an extensive correspondence with friends and acquaintances all over the world. Thus, from Stevenson in Switzerland:

"Let me assure you, you who have made friends already among such various and distant races, that there is a certain phthisical Scot who will always be pleased to hear good news of you"⁴¹

And this from Mark Twain, then visiting in Vienna:

"Dear Charley,

"I've almost forgotten to tell you that one of my books was written by your order. Years ago in the train bet. Baltimore and Washington you told me I must write a serious book. I tho't it over and I concluded to risk it, and I wrote the *Joan of Arc*."⁴²

After several years at the university's Divinity Hall, Charlie found a bungalow in Washington, which he called "St. Anthony's Rest." He lived there with Kenneth O'Connor, a young man he lovingly called his "kid." For a while, he was content. Then Ken grew unhappy and began to drink. Charlie was reduced to hiding bottles of liquor, but in vain. Ken always found them and drank himself to insensibleness. Stoddard's own health wavered. His lectures became a horror, and his attendance at classes and faculty meetings was irregular. Finally, in 1901, he was summoned to the office of the rector and told that the faculty had voted to terminate his services, effective, September, 1902. "Well I went home and I was glad," he confided to his journal. "That ends a dream that had become a night-mare," he wrote. "The first of the thirteen years settled the business of the varsity and proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that there can be *no* Catholic university, for all Catholic educational institutions are religious fakes and the C. U. of A. is priest-ridden."⁴³

The three years that followed his departure from the university were lived in a half-conscious dream. For a year, "perhaps the most miserable of my whole life,"⁴⁴ he stayed with Ken O'Connor and his mother in a house in Washington. He went to New York, where he was the guest of Frances Hodgson Burnett, author of *Little Lord Fauntleroy*.⁴⁵ Then his friend,

Willie Woodworth, took him to Cambridge, Massachusetts, where, on the banks of the Charles River, he fell ill and nearly died of "congestion of the brain." At last, with Woodworth, he returned to California, arriving in San Francisco on April 3, 1905.⁴⁶

It had been more than twenty years since he had called the misty city his home—the metropolis that had once entranced and beguiled him with its meandering alleys and rows of ramshackle houses, clinging for life to the slopes of sandy hills. Both the city and Stoddard had changed. "San Francisco I cannot stomach," he wrote dyspeptically but honestly. "It goes quite against the grain."⁴⁷

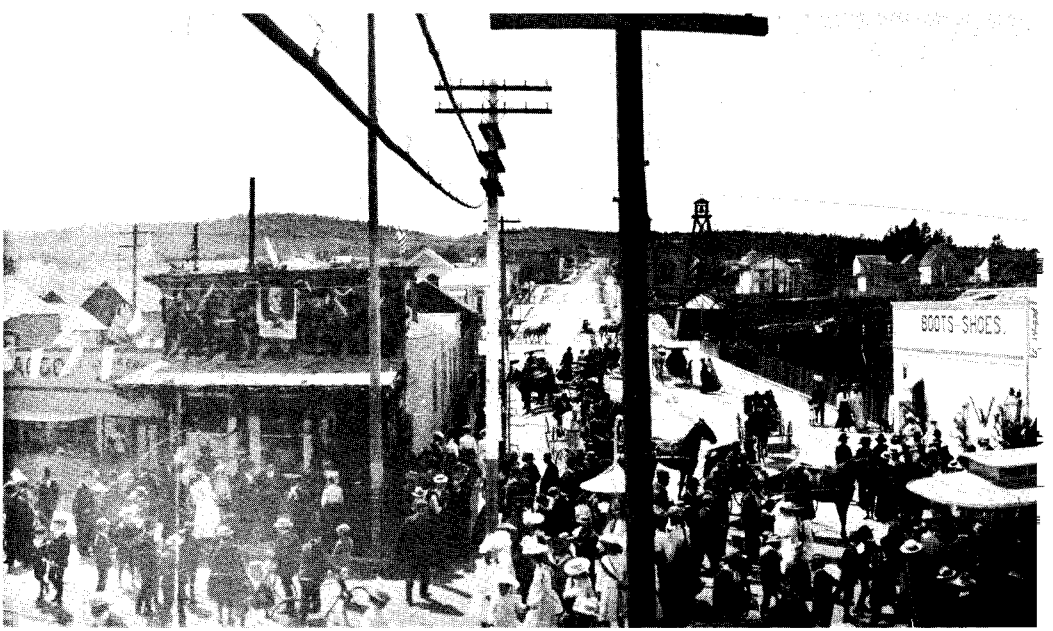
"I hope to drift down the southern coast," he wrote in his journal, "and swing into an eddy—a priest's garden and veranda, in an old adobe mission village, where one lisps Spanish, indulges in the siesta; makes worry over the mass-wine; in the legends of the past are the joys of the present. Where the tinkle of guitars—the quivering, vibrant-rhythm that seems to play upon the heart-strings—and the clack-clack of castanettes are heard in the land; and where," he added with a touch of poetry mixed with prophecy, "one at last dies in the odour of sanctity and cigarettes."⁴⁸ Charlie Stoddard boarded the train and headed for Monterey.

He awoke in his bed at the Monterey Hotel on the morning of July 13 with a feeling of mixed contentment and excitement. He had "slept beautifully," but was anxious to be up and begin an inspection of the town. And inspect he did, for the weeks and months that followed, faithfully and indefatigably.

It had been twenty-seven years since he had seen the old town. In that time, even Monterey had changed. There were tall brick buildings on Alvarado Street, where adobes had snuggled in the sand. The shiny, twin tracks of an electric trolley snaked from the Custom House, up Alvarado, and away on Pearl toward the grandiose spires of the Del Monte Hotel. But there were enough balconies, and roses, and grated windows to nurture his nostalgia. He went to the Girardin adobe, now known as the "Stevenson House," in honor of the writer's sojourn there in 1879. He watched dancers at the Custom House, then used as a ballroom, and stopped to reflect at Simoneau's old restaurant, now a bakery, "where Jules Tavernier, Joe Strong, Julian Rix, Fred Somers and I used to dine before Stevenson's day—just before it."⁴⁹

By July 22 he was cosily ensconced in a room on the second floor of the *Casa Verde*, a green frame house embowered with roses, that stood close by the old Whaling Station and "California's First Brick House," and a stone's throw from the ancient Custom House and wharf.

He called at the cottage of Jules Simoneau, in a forest of fuschias on Van Buren Street. The old Frenchman sat in a rocking chair, "a little old man, rather poorly dressed and with a faded felt hat upon his head." He opened a copy of Stoddard's book, *In the Footprints of the Padres*, fingered it slowly,

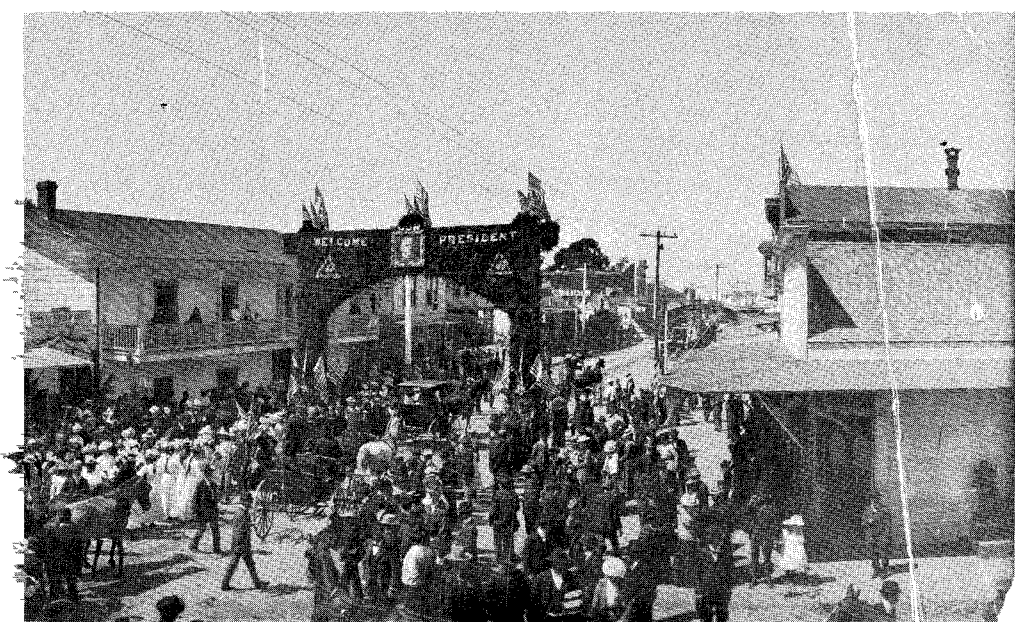


By the time Stoddard returned to Monterey in 1905, Alvarado Street (above) was bustling with Yankees, trolley lines, a sardine-canning factory, and the conveniences made possible by utility poles. *California Historical Society*.

and turned to the chapter called "A Memory of Monterey." "Yes, they were good times," old Jules mused. "Monterey was the home of Bohemianism!" He said of himself: "I am not sick; I cannot complain; I am eighty-five and I do not expect to live much longer. I do not worry; I do not wish for anything I cannot have; and there is enough to eat and drink; I am a great-grandfather and I am a philosopher!" Stoddard agreed: "Surely he seems one in the best sense of the word."⁵⁰

Simoneau kept letters from his devoted friend Stevenson which, Stoddard allowed, "would command a high price in the market, even if they were only published and the originals were in his hands." It was apparent to Stoddard that old Jules could use the money. But the Frenchman summarily refused the suggestion. "It would not be honorable to publish," he said. "Not gentleman-like."⁵¹

He visited with the painter Charles Rollo Peters, master of brooding nocturnes, who was now Monterey's artist-in-residence and lived in a balconied home on a hill overlooking the bay. In Pacific Grove, adjoining Monterey, he visited with Fred Woodworth and renewed his friendship with Joe Strong's sisters. In Carmel he was entertained at the home of Frank Powers, one of the promoters of the fledgling village, whom Stoddard found "rather wild." Powers offered to give Charlie any piece of land he wanted, if he would move to Carmel and edit a newspaper. But Stoddard was not interested. "No new experiments for me," he wrote in his journal; "no new ventures in any sphere whatever. Moreover, my time for the next year is promised and I hope to do some good work." The work he had promised was a monthly contribution to the *National Magazine*.



In suit and dapper hat, Stoddard met (right) with old bohemian friend and author Joaquin Miller and the young poet George Sterling, before restlessly heading north to the San Jose area. But in late 1906, the melancholy poet returned, resigned "to linger on in this old town—which has lost all its charm—to the end." *Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.*



"Dear Charley Stoddard!" George Wharton James wrote. "There was ever at war within his soul two opposing forces. Today he was a sombre monk, ascetic, devout, religious; tomorrow a gay cavalier, frolicsome, reckless, epicurean. He was either on the mountain tops of joy or sitting on the stool of repentance, clothed in sackcloth and ashes."⁵² Yet, however low his spirits might sometimes be, he was always able to rally, and to reflect philosophically on his own indispositions. "Am I emotional?" he queried in his notebook. "I have to be. It is my only gymnastic. If I were not emotional I should stagnate or die of a green scum."⁵³

Perhaps Charlie realized that his career as a writer had not fulfilled the bright promise of his youth. There was a lyric tenderness in his prose, to be sure, and a rare sensitivity for the sound and color of language. Few could match the imaginative perception of his descriptions, and his nostalgic evocations of the old days of Monterey and San Francisco recalled much of the mannered charm of Washington Irving, the sensitive colorist of old New York, with whom Charlie had more than a little in common. But Stoddard's work lacked the vision and strength required to give it real substance. All

too often, his style was florid and annoyingly self-conscious. He had had little impact on the literature of his generation, and he remained best known for his associations with Harte and Twain and Stevenson. Though he never approached the success of these writers, he enjoyed their admiration. His old friend, Joaquin Miller, had achieved greater fame than Charlie, with his eccentric manners and bombastic verse, and every schoolboy for two or three generations knew the exhortations of his famous poem, "Columbus." But Miller was a sincere admirer of Stoddard, and knew, as well as anyone, that when Charlie was good, he was very good. In the margin opposite one of the verses in Stoddard's *Poems*, Joaquin had written in his scrawling handwriting: "Who of us has done so well?"⁵⁴

In the fall of 1905, Stoddard met Joaquin and the young poet, George Sterling, at the *El Adobe* on Alvarado Street—that "dude saloon," as Sterling called it. Refreshed by whiskey and a brisk stroll on the waterfront, the trio hired a carriage and crossed the hill to Sterling's home in Carmel. When they arrived, Charlie was "figuratively, gathered to his fathers," and lay on a bed in Sterling's work house, "feebly moaning that he wanted 'his baby,' whoever that was." George and Joaquin repaired to Carmel Mission, where Miller flirted boldly with the caretaker's daughter, then returned to the cabin, where Stoddard was peacefully asleep. "Leave him there," Miller ordered. "And you'd better stand by with a drink when he wakes up."⁵⁵

After a while, Stoddard grew tired of Monterey, complaining of its worldliness and the ceaseless noise of the town's first sardine cannery, the Booth plant on the shore of the old wharf. So he visited in San Jose and, for a time, took a room in an old house at Congress Springs, in a fold of the Santa Clara mountains. But, by October of 1906, he was planning to return to Monterey. "There is no other place in California I know of I like so well," he wrote to Ina.⁵⁶

He was an occasional visitor in Carmel, at the abalone bakes organized by George Sterling. "Carmel does not interest me," he wrote to Ina in 1907, "though some of its people do."⁵⁷ . . . I am inclined to think that it will become the intellectual centre of the coast."⁵⁸ Stoddard was lionized by the Carmel writers as an elder statesman of letters. Mary Austin remembered him as "a figure of tossed-back hair and long fingers forever busy with a cigarette . . . bridging the Bret Harte period to ours."⁵⁹ But he was too old for races on the beach and diving for abalones in the icy waters off Point Lobos. So while the others played, he drank—often to excess.

He often wondered if he had been wise to return to California from the East. "My coming to California at this late date is like rebottling old wine. It does not improve the wine."⁶⁰

Though he was lonely, he found George Sterling to be a loyal friend. In the March 8, 1908, issue of *Sunset* magazine, Charlie published a poem entitled "To George Sterling," in which he wrote:

Thou in whose sight I am mute,
 In whose song I rejoice:
 And even as echo fain would I voice
 With timbrel and tabor and flute,
 With viol and lute
 Something of worth in thy praise—
 Delight of my days. . . .⁶¹

Sterling responded with a grateful letter addressed "O Sire."

In the fall of 1908 Stoddard visited San Jose and Santa Barbara, returning to Monterey once again to write to Ina: "I begin to think that I shall write no more. The gift has left me: the pitcher is broken at the fountain; the spring is dry. I have enough for a half-dozen vols.—but the market is flooded and I'm a back number. Let us cheer up. Perhaps there are worse times coming."

Again he fell ill. The rheumatism in his ankles was so severe he could not walk, and for seven weeks he did not leave the house. He planned a trip to the East, but in March of 1909 wrote to Ina that he would have to forgo it. "I suppose it shall be my destiny," he told her, "to linger on in this old town—which has lost all of its charm—to the end."⁶²

On April 1, he was barely able to sign his name to a will prepared for him by the young attorney, Carmel Martin.⁶³ On April 15, he scrawled a hardly legible note:

"Dearest Ina,

I am just pulling out of a dreadful ill in which I lay at the point of death. Am better but cannot walk yet without help. It is Heart Disease."⁶⁴

Ina's reply from San Francisco was dated April 20:

"Beloved Charlie:

I am so sorry. But you are going to be all right. *I can't spare you.* Though I don't see you yet to know you are still on the same planet with me keeps me from the sheer desperation of loneliness."⁶⁵

On April 22, Sterling called at Stoddard's home, but he was asleep. The following morning Charlie Stoddard left the planet.

Sterling was a pall-bearer at the funeral in San Carlos church, the old Catholic chapel of Monterey. Ina Coolbrith was there, leaning sorrowfully on a stick. The body was taken to the weed-grown fields of the old cemetery, where Stoddard was buried, his head resting on a tile from the Carmel Mission. At last the Odyssey was done.

Joaquin Miller lifted a heavy pen, and wrote:

Say Charlie, our Charlie, say—
 What of the night? Aloha! Hail!
 What roamful sea? What restful sail?
 Where tent you, Bedouin, today?⁶⁶

There was no answer to Joaquin's question. For the Bedouin had folded his tent, and slipped in the night away.

NOTES

1. Charles Warren Stoddard, "Diary," MS, July 12, 1905, Robert Louis Stevenson House, State Historical Monument, Monterey (hereinafter "Diary"). In this article I have used the spelling "Charlie," which was preferred by Stoddard, rather than "Charley," which was sometimes used by his friends.
2. "Diary," July 13, 1905.
3. George Wharton James, "Charles Warren Stoddard," in *National Magazine*, August, 1911, p. 661.
4. Franklin Walker, "Pip Pepperpod Grows Up," in *Westways*, September, 1935, p. 20.
5. James, in *National Magazine*, August, 1911, p. 664.
6. Franklin Walker, *San Francisco's Literary Frontier*, 75 (Seattle, 1969).
7. Charles Warren Stoddard, "The Confessions of a Reformed Poet," MS, Bancroft Library, Berkeley (hereinafter "Confessions").
8. *Ibid.*
9. James, in *National Magazine*, August, 1911, p. 664.
10. Walker, in *Westways*, September, 1935, p. 21, n. 4.
11. Walker, *Literary Frontier*, 278, n. 6.
12. George Wharton James, *An Appreciation of Charles Warren Stoddard*, 56 (Los Angeles, 1909).
13. Walker, in *Westways*, September, 1935, p. 27.
14. William Dean Howells, "Introductory Letter" dated August 11, 1892, in Charles Warren Stoddard, *South-Sea Idylls*, v (New York, 1926).
15. Stoddard, *South-Sea Idylls* (Boston, 1873).
16. James, in *National Magazine*, August, 1911, p. 669, n. 3.
17. Charles Warren Stoddard, *Exits and Entrances*, 66-67 (Boston, 1903).
18. *Ibid.*
19. James, in *National Magazine*, August, 1911, p. 670.
20. Walker, *Literary Frontier*, 347.
21. Fred M. Somers, "A Bohemian Revel—Rusticating in the Ancient Capital of California," in *The Argonaut*, October 5, 1878, p. 4.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*
25. Charles Warren Stoddard, *In the Footprints of the Padres*, 138 (San Francisco, 1902).
26. *Ibid.*, 140.
27. *Ibid.*
28. Somers, in *The Argonaut*, October 5, 1878, p. 4.
29. Stoddard, *Footprints*, 141.
30. Robert Louis Stevenson (with Lloyd Osbourne), *The Wrecker*, 145 (New York, 1895).
31. *Ibid.*, 146.
32. *Ibid.*

33. *Ibid.*
34. Stoddard, *Exits and Entrances*, 27, n. 17.
35. Isobel Field, *This Life I've Loved*, 125 (New York, 1937).
36. *Ibid.*
37. Charles Phillips, "Charles Warren Stoddard," in *Overland Monthly*, February, 1908, p. 135.
38. Charles Warren Stoddard, *For the Pleasure of His Company*, 121 (San Francisco, 1903).
39. Edward Wagenknecht, *Mark Twain, The Man and His Work*, 179 (Norman, Oklahoma, 1967).
40. Field, *This Life I've Loved*, 243.
41. Stoddard, *Exits and Entrances*, n. 17.
42. Mark Twain to Stoddard, October 6, 1898, in Charles Warren Stoddard Letters and Papers, Bancroft Library, Berkeley (hereinafter Stoddard Letters).
43. Charles Warren Stoddard, "A Labyrinth of Life" [MS notebook], Bancroft Library, Berkeley (hereinafter "Labyrinth").
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Ibid.*
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*
48. Charles Warren Stoddard, "Exercises" [MS notebook], Bancroft Library, Berkeley (hereinafter "Exercises").
49. "Diary," July 24, 1905.
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Ibid.*
52. James, in *National Magazine*, August, 1911, p. 663, n. 3.
53. "Exercises."
54. Ina L. Cook, "Charles Warren Stoddard," MS, Bancroft Library.
55. Franklin Walker, *The Seacoast of Bohemia*, 22 (San Francisco, 1966).
56. Stoddard to Ina Coolbrith, October 27, 1906, Stoddard Letters.
57. Stoddard to Coolbrith, August 19, 1907, Stoddard Letters.
58. Stoddard to Coolbrith, August 20, 1907, Stoddard Letters.
59. Mary Austin, *Earth Horizon*, 301 (Boston, 1932).
60. "Exercises."
61. Charles Warren Stoddard, "To George Sterling," in *Sunset*, March, 1908, p. 502.
62. Stoddard to Coolbrith, March 9, 1909, Stoddard Letters.
63. File in Estate of Charles Warren Stoddard, Deceased, Probate No. 1830, Superior Court of California, Monterey County (in Office of County Clerk, Salinas).
64. Stoddard to Coolbrith, April 15, 1909, Stoddard Letters.
65. Coolbrith to Stoddard, April 20, 1909, Stoddard Letters.
66. Joaquin Miller, "Say Charlie!," quoted in Nellie Van De Grift Sanchez, "Charles Warren Stoddard and the Artist Colony," *Oakland Tribune*, December 26, 1920, Magazine section, p. 3.

REVIEWS

Charles Wollenberg, *Review Editor*

Chicano Control of Chicano History: A Review of Selected Literature

RALPH C. GUZMÁN, *associate professor in politics and community studies, Merrill College, University of California, Santa Cruz.*

HISTORY, TO PARAPHRASE KARL MARX, is written and rewritten by those who control the instruments of writing and production. It is the dominion, we might add, of those who have the skills to manipulate the scholarly industry.

The validity of this proposition is reflected in the conscious or unconscious efforts of established nations to protect their positions in world history and to sustain the senses of nationality that ensures and justifies the transmission of national character to each succeeding generation. The proposition applies to emerging nations, too, in which distinctive racial and ethnic minorities struggle with equal passion to preserve their own interpretations of history and cultural distinctiveness. In new nations, in fact, minority groups may be even more removed from control of the instruments of writing and production than in older nations. The Indian populations of Mexico, Guatemala, and Peru are notable New World examples. Asia and Africa offer countless others. Minority groups living in Western nations such as the United States may be close to achieving control of their own histories, and, through them, we may be able to understand how groups acquire the means for the writing and rewriting of history.

The United States has a large number of minority groups. Each is in a different state of real or imagined social alienation. This essay considers how one of these groups, the Chicanos, is progressing in its struggle for opportunities to rewrite history—to state its own special case to the Anglos who control their society and to the rest of the world.

Ethnic and host-society scholars agree that the quality of life of the United States' five to twelve million Chicanos remains well below that of the majority of the country's citizenry. Educationally, Chicanos have one of the lowest levels of achievement in the nation. In primary and secondary schools their dropout rate matches and sometimes exceeds that of blacks. Few Chicanos have entered institutions of higher learning where the more sophisticated tools for the writing of history are dispensed because schools have always failed them and because the universities of the privileged rarely want the underprivileged in substantial numbers. Federal and local programs designed to advance the educational opportunities of Chicanos have been limited and temporary. It is in the job market, however, that the poor quality of Chicano life is most easily seen. Chicanos remain what they have always been: menial laborers. Racial discrimination has limited their educational opportunities and only a few have ever reached managerial, business, and professional positions. Given the Chicanos' poverty and history of social and economic deprivation which dates back to the Mexican-American War, it is a wonder that they are now able to write books protesting the

damage done to their history. An important few, however, are now rewriting the story that their enemies deliberately misrepresented and their surrogates never really understood.

There has been an impressive increase in Chicano scholarship in the last twenty years that has accelerated in quality and quantity in the late sixties. It is a scholarship with roots in the untutored, unwritten historiography of Chicano immigrants who, while living at the edges of American society, maintained a sense of history through their *corridos* (ballads), extended families, and cultural rituals that included oral history or *cuentos de mis padres* (stories told by the parents). But it is also a scholarship that is linked across several generations with men such as José Vasconcelos,¹ who lifted a pen against *yanqui* imperialism in 1925, and pamphleteers including Ricardo Flores Magón, whose visions of social justice were judged quixotic and revolutionary.

What has been written between 1953 and 1973 is both gentle and tough. It is gentle because much of the writing is nostalgic, rebuilding the past and sharing real and mythical memories of the land to the south. It is also tough because it is the new history, the analysis of contemporary conditions of social contact between Chicanos and Anglos. The new authors are young Chicanos with knowledge only of the brutal reality of urban *barrio* life. It is from the writing of these young historians that the parameters of the Chicano revolution, if it ever comes to pass, may be forged.

Years ago, Robert F. Kennedy was asked for his opinion of young Chicano radicals. He replied: "They are unlike Puerto Rican and black youngsters that I have met. On the surface they appear to be gentle revolutionaries; but I sense an anger that is deep, that has not surfaced. Someday that anger may be focused by young Chicanos who will speak to history!"²

Less than ten years ago when the staff of the UCLA Mexican-American Study Project searched for literature in the little-known field of Chicano studies, books, journal articles, and other materials written by Chicanos themselves were almost nonexistent. Most studies available had been written by Anglos. Anglo graduate students, mostly from southwestern universities, had produced a quantity of pedestrian masters and doctoral theses; cultural anthropologists enamored with ethnic exotica joined the graduate students with more professional investigations of *curanderas* (witch doctors) and other "folk" practices unrelated to the reality of Chicano life in the United States.

A few Anglo surrogates did leave indelible marks in the history of *la raza*.³ As radical champions of the oppressed in the best sense of the term, they wrote and spoke for a people who were not yet able to control the instruments of writing and publication. Carey McWilliams is an outstanding example of such a champion. Shortly after the first edition of *North From Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People of the United States* (New York: J. B. Lippincott, 1949) first appeared, McWilliams told a group of Chicano students that "someday young people like yourselves will write the true history of your people."⁴ Another Anglo surrogate, a young, urbane writer named Beatrice Griffith, assured Anglos that Chicanos were not subversives and that they considered themselves American. Griffith wrote an impassioned plea for greater understanding of Chicanos which she entitled *American Me* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1948). Anglo authors, like Ruth Tuck in *Not With the Fist: Mexican-Americans in a Southwest City* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1956), also contributed to this special literature.

In the last five years Chicanos have proven that they can handle the tools of scholarship. Fewer Anglo experts write about Chicanos; more books are being co-authored by Anglo and Chicano scholars with apparent equality of authorship and mutual intellectual respect. More important, a significant number of books and scholarly journals, e.g. *El Grito* and *Aztlan*, have been produced entirely by Chicano scholars. This

speaks to growing Chicano control of the tools of writing and publication. Another important characteristic in the new Chicano scholarship is the attention given to analyzing American society. Historical-sociological efforts like Armando Morales' *Ando Sangrando* [I Am Bleeding] (Los Angeles: Perspectiva Publications, 1972) introduce a new level of Chicano consciousness and a tougher analytical stance.

The Chicanos' struggle to state their special case to Anglo society and the world can be seen in the many books published and republished in the last year or two. These fall into three categories: 1) romantic searches, 2) partisan proclamations, and 3) analytical assessments. Romantic searches into past history, a universal temptation for all peoples who wish to be *hijos de algo* (sons of something), are an understandable enterprise. Secondly, if it is natural to search the records scattered in the debris of the past, it is equally natural to issue partisan proclamations based on the discoveries of injustice. A review of the history of the Alamo and of the American seizure of Mexico's northern territories alone provides evidence for bitter denunciation. Studies of the third type, analytical assessments of American society by Chicanos, have just begun to appear.

As a romantic search of the past, Ernesto Galarza's *Barrio Boy: A Chicano Youth Coming of Age in Mexico and America* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1971. 273 pp. \$1.25), is important primarily because it was written by a distinguished Chicano author and is partially autobiographical. A powerful, prolific author in the field of agrarian economics, Galarza championed the cause of California's farm workers when Cesar Chávez was still a youngster. To many Chicanos, Galarza is a model Chicano scholar: he graduated from Occidental College in the 1920's, attended Stanford University, and received a Ph.D. from Columbia University—an accomplishment that is impressive even today.

Barrio Boy is not well received by young Chicanos who have no memory of quaint villages in the mountains in Mexico, of roosters named Colonel, and of burros called *relampago*. Many Chicanos cannot believe that life in the urban slums of America was ever idyllic or even livable. The grinding, miserable poverty that attended the growth of most Chicanos who moved north from Mexico, the ugly attitudes of Texas *gringos* who seem to predominate in the United States Border Patrol, the heavy actions of the police, and the proprietary posture of the social workers are absent from Galarza's charming autobiography.



Like many major construction projects in the West, Southern California's Pacific Electric railway was built by poorly paid Mexican laborers. This photo shows the tracks near Glendale in 1904. *Security Pacific National Bank*.



Carrying flags of the Brown Berets, the Farm Workers Organizing Committee, and Mexico, young radicals (above) marched to Sacramento in 1971 to protest racial discrimination. *Associated Press.*



The marathon trial in San Francisco in 1969 of seven young *latinos*—*Los Siete de la Raza*—accused of murdering a policeman precipitated a grass-roots movement in the *barrios* (right). *Marjorie Heins' Strictly Ghetto Property.*

If there are questions about the audience for which Galarza wrote *Barrio Boy*, there is no doubt about Rodolfo Acuña's purpose in writing *Occupied America: The Chicano Struggle Toward Liberation* (San Francisco: Canfield Press, 1972. 282 pp. \$4.50). Acuña's book is a partisan proclamation written by a Chicano for Chicanos. It is biased, denunciatory, and angry. Acuña, nevertheless, provides enough rich historical detail to offset Galarza's romanticism and to make the reading of both books worthwhile.

A more balanced presentation of Chicano history can be seen in Matt S. Meier and Feliciano Rivera's *The Chicanos: A History of Mexican Americans* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1972. 302 pp. \$2.45). Meier and Rivera are respected American historians, Meier at Santa Clara University and Rivera at California State University at San Jose. In the co-authorship Meier may be the engineer and Rivera the architect. The former provides the construction and the latter the aesthetics of the book. Together they build

a scholarly structure that meets both Anglo building requirements and Chicano conceptual concerns. The co-authorship produces a historical account that is more subdued than Acuña's and more thorough than Galarza's. The Meier-Rivera product may provide a useful bridge between Anglo scholarly apprehension and Chicano aspiration. But whether *The Chicanos* was intended as a bridge or not, it is a carefully written, important contribution to the literature in Chicano studies.

While analytical assessments of American society that match Gunnar Myrdal's classic *American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* remain to be written by Chicanos, a number of books have appeared that at least describe the experience of Chicanos with American society. A tougher analysis is certainly due. Two paperbacks (boasting beautiful color reproductions of Pablo O'Higgins murals) are reprints of Manuel Gamio's early works, *The Life Story of the Mexican Immigrant* (New York: Dover Publications, 1971. 288 pp. \$3.00) and *Mexican Immigration to the United States: A Study of Human Migration and Adjustment* (New York: Dover Publications, 1971. 262 pp. \$3.00). Both books were published in the 1930's by the University of Chicago Press. Until Dover Publications republished Gamio's books, the Chicago editions were considered rare books by serious students of Chicano history. The scholarship in both books is rigorous and of lasting historical value. Gamio's books are in a special class, providing a vital record of the conditions of social contact between Chicanos and American society during the depression years.

Another recently released book is Father Mark Day's *Forty Acres: Cesar Chávez and the Farm Workers* (New York: Praeger, 1971), an unabashed partisan statement by a young Roman Catholic priest. There is a gentle beauty in Day's description of life among the farm workers that is reminiscent of Galarza's *Barrio Boy*. The contrast is interesting since the two men wrote out of love for a people with whom they both identify. Galarza described the surface; Day dug deep. Those who read both books might want to compare the military siege of Mazatlan reported by Galarza with Day's version of the economic siege of the Coachella Valley.

Today, more than eighty-five per cent of the Chicano population lives in cities. This could mean that as many as eight or nine million people, depending on whose "guesstimate" of the total population one uses, are Spanish-surnamed urban dwellers. Whatever the actual figures, we do know that Chicanos are urban and young (median age seventeen years). Their problems, then, are related to life in urban *barrios*. Slums mean drugs, psychic brutality, and violence, and few Chicanos escape unscathed from the streets to become distinguished authors, professors, or other professionals. The majority remain behind, locked in mortal combat with social forces endemic to enclaves of poverty. One of these forces is the police.

Two recent books speak to contemporary conditions of social contact between young barrio people and law enforcement personnel. Armando Morales' *Ando Sangrando* [I Am Bleeding] is a powerful exposé of police-community relations in East Los Angeles. A second book, Marjorie Heins' *Strictly Ghetto Property: The Story of Los Siete de la Raza* (Berkeley: Ramparts Press, 1972. 324 pp. \$6.95 hard, \$2.95 paper) focuses on the same problem as experienced by *latino* youngsters living in the Mission District of San Francisco and is as subjective as the Southern California contribution. One is written by a Chicano in behalf of Chicanos; the other by an Anglo in behalf of *latinos*.

Morales, while partisan, attempts to analyze conditions of social contact between young Chicanos and police authorities. He asks: "Are police used as a repressive force against social change?" He answers that they are, because police have internalized the worst aspects of American racism. Policemen are selectively recruited, he argues. They

almost always live in predominately white neighborhoods with known histories of community racism. After suffering seventeen rejections from major publishing houses, Morales' exposé was published by his own firm. In order to state the special case of young Chicanos vis-à-vis policemen, Morales was, indeed, forced to create his own instruments of production.

But if Morales' *Ando Sangrando* disturbs the sensitive reader, Heins' *Strictly Ghetto Property* will blow even more minds. The book is about seven *latinos* (Latin Americans who are not Chicanos), who were tried for the murder of a San Francisco police officer. Heins, like Morales, argues that the police represent a powerful institution that effectively represses the poor. She describes in journalistic detail the arrests that were made and the trial that followed, effectively arguing that policemen may simply be a powerful, institutional extension of the whites who control society (not all whites, by any means). When the *latinos* under discussion were arrested, the San Francisco press reported in detail the statements made by public officials and by the prosecution. But when the *latino* youngsters were acquitted, Heins points out, the same newspapers were conspicuously chary with their coverage. Morales likewise deals with the publicity that attends the arrest of Chicanos in East Los Angeles and the obstacles that Chicanos must overcome in order to explain their version of events. Both books should be read.

Literature about minority groups, written in collaboration with ethnic authors or by the ethnics themselves, has blossomed in the last few years. There is no dearth of literature in the area of Chicano studies—if there ever was one. But still missing are writings by Chicanos that clearly focus on Anglo-America and its social institutions. If John Steinbeck could write about the quaintness of Chicano life in *Tortilla Flat*, Juan Julano may yet describe diet fads or other Anglo cultural exotica.

The re-writing of history continues and so does the struggle for access to the instruments of writing and production.

1. See Nicandro Juárez, *José Vasconceles and La Raza Cosmica* (Los Angeles: Juárez and Associates, 1972).
2. For an account of this meeting, see Ralph Guzmán, "The Gentle Revolutionaries: Brown Power," in *Los Angeles Times*, January 26, 1969, *West Magazine*, pp. 9-12, 14.
3. In popular usage, *la raza* means our people.
4. An interview with Carey McWilliams, circa Fall, 1949.

Book Reviews

Francis Drake, Privateer: Contemporary Narratives and Documents. Selected and edited by John Hampden. (University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1972. 286 p. Illustrations. \$12.75.)

Reviewed by ROBERT H. POWER, *author of the article on the Drake landing controversy in this issue.*

Francis Drake, Privateer is appropriately titled. In scope, it limits itself to Drake's early activities as a slave trader-turned-privateer. Only in the Epilogue is Drake's activity

as a "naval commander" reviewed. Hampden has a good grasp of the complex politics of the Elizabethan age, and he neatly categorizes Drake as the "one sea-captain of acknowledged genius, the one great popular hero."

The stated purpose of this book is to bring together "important contemporary accounts of the earlier voyages of Francis Drake" with appropriate annotation. Unfortunately, the volume is awkwardly organized into three parts with nine numbered sub-parts and eight extra, unnumbered sections. Among the unnumbered sections are the beginning "Illustrations," the final "Index," an interesting "Introduction," and a useful "Select Bibliography." This structure was evidently the result of a last minute reorganization of material; although illustration 23 is captioned "The plate of brass found in California (see Chapter 4)," there is no Chapter 4, and the footnote about the Plate of Brass is in "Part Three . . . [sub] 2."

The book's illustrations are numerous, about thirty in all, but they are poorly captioned. For instance, the famed Silver Map of the World is handsomely photographed, but the maker (Michael Mercator), the place of issue (London), and the date (1589) are not mentioned. Instead, the reader finds the vague statement, "A map in silver made from the world map by Mercator. . . ." In truth, the silver map's cartography used Mercator's projection, but was derived primarily from sources other than Rumold Mercator's 1587 World Map.

Hampden's footnotes, like his captions, leave much to be desired. For example, *The World Encompassed* . . . , a narrative of Drake's circumnavigation journey, contains the following phrase: "In 38 deg. 30 min. we fell with a convenient and fit harbour [Drake's California anchorage]." Hampden's accompanying footnote reads: "This latitude of 38° 30' is just south of San Francisco, and a bay there has been named Drake's Bay." Latitude 38° 30', however, is about fifty miles north of San Francisco and, of course, Drake's Bay is precisely on the thirty-eighth parallel, about twenty-four miles north of the Golden Gate. In another footnote of California interest, the Farallon Islands are incorrectly spelled "Farallone Islands."

Problems also arise from the book's attempt to bring together reprints of accounts of the earlier voyages of Francis Drake. *The World Encompassed*, which represents more than 25 per cent of the total text, is, unfortunately, a reprint of a reprint of a reprint. In at least one crucial point in the narrative—when it describes Drake's course from the third to the sixteenth of October after departing from the "Island of Thieves" in the western Pacific—an editorial error is perpetuated. Hampden's reprint reads that Drake continued "within sight of land." The original edition of 1628 correctly states "without sight of land," but the error was made in 1854 in the Hakluyt Society's edition of *The World Encompassed* edited by W. S. Vaux and was carried forward to the 1926 Argonaut Press edition edited by N. M. Penzer. One UCLA professor spent two years searching for these illusive, non-existent islands and finally reached a very erroneous conclusion because of this error. Hopefully, no scholars will be led astray by errors in this new reprint edition.

Lack of attention to detail is exhibited in the book's outline map showing "the route probably followed by Drake in his voyage round the world." The map depicts Drake stopping in Panama, while it is known that he purposely sailed past the area far out to sea. In addition it fails to indicate Drake's stops in Costa Rica and far-off Mindanao and the explorer's penetration into Oregon waters on the northwest coast of America.

Francis Drake, Privateer is valuable for its bibliography and the publication of such important documents as the draft plan for Drake's 1577 voyage. It can be a useful reference if the reader uses it cautiously with knowledge of its many small errors which could set serious research off in the wrong direction.

Charles F. Lummis: Crusader in Corduroy. By Dudley Gordon. (Los Angeles: Cultural Assets Press, 1972. xix, 344 pp. Illustrations. \$12.50.)

Reviewed by JOHN W. CAUGHEY, *distinguished scholar, teacher, and editor in the field of California and western history.*

BACK IN HIS GRADUATE-SCHOOL DAYS Dudley Gordon wrote a seminar paper on Charles F. Lummis. Professor Herbert E. Bolton, in line with one of his habits, told Gordon he must not stop with this paper—Lummis's contributions called for a full-scale biography. Gordon not only took Bolton at his word, he made it a career-long assignment. The information to be gathered was bulky and scattered, and some of the richest materials were not open until a few years ago. Gordon persisted, and the degree of his dedication is attested by the formidable array of acknowledgments that prefaces this book. In innumerable conversations and in formal speeches, he made himself Lummis's press agent as well as his assiduous biographer. *Crusader in Corduroy* caps this two-fold effort.

Lummis, among other things, was an outdoorsman and athlete, a reporter, editor, and translator, a poet, essayist, and critic, a historian, ethnologist, and archaeologist, an enthusiast for the Indian, the Spaniard, the Mexican, and for California and the Southwest, a promoter, organizer, and advocate. Because of his strong and complex personality, he was a refractory subject for a biography. Rather than trying to reduce this character to a formula, Gordon ranges freely with him and lets his subject's multiplicity show. He is not put off by Lummis's lapses into fustian and bombast and his acidulous condemnation of editors and scholars who disregarded him and inattentive readers and all who persisted in error, even after having been put on notice by CFL. Stylistically, Gordon is perceptibly influenced by his subject's mannerisms; Gordon's rambling and anecdotal approach ties in with Lummis's frequent changes of pace and emphasis.

But Lummis was more than an eccentric, a sparkle, or a happening. He had the attention and the respect of an impressive roster of persons including Theodore Roosevelt, Frederick W. Hodge, Mary Austin, John Muir, Pablo Abeita of Isleta, Harrison Gray Otis, and Henry O'Melveny. What is usually said of him is that besides building with his own hands his El Alisal, he founded a league for the preservation of the California missions and another championing the dispossessed and pauperized Indians. He invigorated the Los Angeles Public Library, and he founded and built the Southwest Museum. In addition, as the long-time editor of *Out West*, he encouraged southwestern writers and argued the integrity of the regional culture. Indeed, his major contribution was the basis for awareness of the rich intercultural heritage of California and the Southwest. Gordon's biography keeps him alive.

The Maru Cult of the Pomo Indians: A California Ghost Dance Survival. By Clement W. Meighan and Francis A. Riddell. (Los Angeles: Southwest Museum Papers, No. 23, 1972. 134 pp. Illustrations. \$8.50.)

Reviewed by ALBERT B. ELSASSER, *associate research anthropologist at the R. H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.*

ANTHROPOLOGISTS have long been studying the cult religions of peoples who are threatened by domination or annihilation following foreign encroachment of their territory

Such religions are usually called "messianic" if they cluster about the immediate or imminent presence of a great savior or prophet. When no such personality or deity is involved, however, a functionally similar cult, termed now "revivalistic," may develop. The Maru cult of the Pomo Indians of the North Coast Range of California falls into the latter category.

Meighan and Riddell have analyzed a series of dance ceremonies associated with the Maru cult during a ten-year period, from about 1949 to 1959. The authors' stated purpose, to indicate the processes by which the cult came to its present form, has been commendably served. Despite certain inherent arcane or vague concepts in this cult, many of them with differing individual interpretations by participants in the ceremonies, the writers have threaded recent objective observations into a firm historical framework without compromising living California Indians. The main Indian informants and performers whose names appear repeatedly in the book are now dead, and this explains the thirteen year lapse between the last recorded ceremony and the present publication.

Certainly the Ghost Dance proper of the last thirty years of the nineteenth century is the best-known of the revivalistic cults of the American West. It is significant that the first (1870) wave of this movement appeared in Northern California only about twenty years or so after the gold rush, when Indian society was undergoing severe disruption. The later, but more publicized Ghost Dance manifestation among the Indians of the Great Plains reached its apparent culmination with the Battle of Wounded Knee in 1890. By this time, the California Ghost Dance, with its emphasis on the return of the Indian dead, had already transformed itself, among the Pomo, at least, into the Earth Lodge cult, and from this, in turn, the Maru religion was derived.

The Earth Lodge prophets foretold not the return of the dead, as in the Ghost Dance, but the end of the world, with protection from the cataclysm to be granted, however, to Indians who foregathered in subterranean lodges and other places. The Maru cult, following upon the Earth Lodge belief after 1872, abandoned ideas of world catastrophe but instead was preoccupied with concepts of the afterlife and of a supreme being. The cult derives its name from the idea of the Maru, or "Dreamer," who locally serves as the chief religious functionary and who leads the people by dreamed rules of ceremonial behavior.

Since each local Maru does not dream the same, it is clear that centers of the religion among the Pomo, whether along the coast or at Clear Lake, may contain some differences in emphasis. Thus the exhaustive treatment in the book of concrete details—choreography, dance costumes, banners and other equipment, forms of ceremonial houses—all aid in indicating the pervasiveness of the cult among the Pomo. Outlines of the material items provide a picture of the influence of certain Euro-American elements (including a trace of Christianity) upon a threatened but still viable Indian culture. A list of estimated origins of traits in the Maru ceremony (Table 1) nevertheless points to the strong aboriginal foundation of the ceremonial pattern.

This volume can be recommended to anthropologists and historians, especially those interested in culture change and in the history of religion. The very recency of the cult provides a note of contrast for the general reader who may have believed that the California Indians simply disappeared when the mission period came to an end in the mid-nineteenth century.

The Cable Car in America. By George W. Hilton. (Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1971. 484 pp. \$17.50.)

Reviewed by DAVID F. MYRICK, *author of a recent publication about San Francisco*, TELEGRAPH HILL.

THIS is a lengthy book—almost 500 pages—devoted to the story of the cable car in America. To paraphrase a contemporary book on a different subject, Dr. Hilton's book might have been titled *Everything You Wanted to Know about Cable Cars but Did Not Know Where to Ask*, for here are the answers.

Previous writers including Edgar Kahn and Lucius Beebe, in telling the story of the cable car in San Francisco, have left the reader with the impression that the cable car was the exclusive property of San Francisco. Certainly this is true at this moment, but George Hilton informs us that this method of transport forms part of the history of twenty-eight other American cities. Among these cities are Oakland, Omaha, Kansas City, Pittsburgh and Washington, D. C. Serious promotions almost added Milwaukee, Dallas, Boston, and even Lincoln, Nebraska, to the list.

A third of the book is given over to the cable car itself and its place in the development of American urban transportation, falling between the horse car and the electric trolley. Who invented the cable car is a matter of controversy; Andrew S. Hallidie, long heralded as the inventor, was not the sole person contributing to the invention, but he did develop the first operating system. That cannot go unrecognized. In this part of the book, Hilton takes his reader through the details of the power house, the cable, and the grip, as well as the economic patterns which controlled the life span of cable traction.

As San Francisco cable lines have been the topic of several earlier books, Hilton wisely limited the discussion of individual lines in San Francisco to the same proportions given to lines in other cities.

Those living beyond the borders of San Francisco will find greater interest in the larger half of the book devoted to the cable lines in the twenty-eight other cities. Half of the twenty-eight are west of the Mississippi River; nine are in the twelve western states. Western cable car cities include Denver, the mining city of Butte, Montana, and Spokane, Washington, as well as cities along the Pacific coast.

San Diego's line, running north mostly on Fourth Avenue, had a short life of less than three years, most of it with unhappy overtones. The map in the book depicting the three systems in Los Angeles suggests the letter X with a few appendages. Both arms reached thirteen miles. A portion of the small Second Street Cable Railroad—the eastbound ascent from Hope Street to the top of Bunker Hill—was distinguished by the steepest grade (27.7 per cent) among the American cable lines.

In Oakland, names prominent in Western mining history took part in building the two cable companies. James G. Fair promoted the Oakland Cable Railway on lower Broadway and San Pablo Avenue, while Mark Requa and others were backing the Consolidated Piedmont Cable Company. One of Requa's lines ran along the upper part of Broadway and Piedmont Avenue to the Mountain View Cemetery, while the other operated over the undulating Oakland Avenue all the way to Highland Avenue. Both lines were converted to electric traction before the turn of the century.

With an informative text, meaningful maps, and photographs, this book is a treasure chest of information. Dr. Hilton is to be congratulated for his contribution to the local history of the United States

California: A History of the Golden State. By Warren A. Beck and David A. Williams. (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1972. 552 pp. Illustrations. \$11.95.)

California: Land of New Beginnings. By David Lavender. (New York: Harper & Row, 1972. 464 pp. \$10.00.)

Reviewed by ANDREW F. ROLLE, *Robert Glass Cleland Professor of American History at Occidental College, Los Angeles.*

IT HAS BECOME TEMPTING for popularists and scholars alike to write new histories of California. Under review here are two such works, one in each genre. David Lavender's volume is part of a series of regional surveys and not actually a definitive history of the state. Professors Beck and Williams strive for greater thoroughness.

By now the parameters of the state's history—including the Spanish-Mexican period, the hide and tallow era, the gold rush, agricultural growth, social discontent—have been delineated. The work of Bancroft, Chapman, and Cleland is long behind us. Yet, because of their pioneering books, it is an easier job for a writer today to tackle a history of the state than was formerly the case. A decade or more ago, when others of us produced histories of California, it became obvious that the best opportunities to make original contributions to the story lay mainly in treating its most recent history. Each year we add another bloc of time that historians must chronicle and interpret. Lavender, incidentally, bravely attempts to go from the 1920's to the megalopoli of the present in only fifty-one pages of narrative.

Each of the reviewed books has strengths and weaknesses. An excellent device utilized by Professors Beck and Williams is the inclusion of carefully chosen source quotations to illuminate past eras. In attempting breadth of interpretation, authors are bound to skimp on occasional intriguing details, and Beck and Williams, for example, avoid the whole controversy over the Drake landing as well as the authenticity of the Drake Plate. Both books are reasonably fair in their attention to California's Latin tradition (not the case in other recent histories), but Beck obviously possesses the understandings of an Hispanic Americanist (although his research specialty has not been early California). Lavender's interpretations of that period are more Anglophile.

Divergent viewpoints aside, readers must ask if it was structurally wise for Lavender to jump directly from the Spanish period to a section entitled "The Advent of the Americans." This decision sidelines California's Mexican past, which Lavender treats primarily in terms of its pestiferous Yankee intruders. While the author is more at ease in discussing mining and railroading (about which he has previously published), Beck and Williams are in better control of political history, especially during the 1850's and 1860's (Williams's specialty). They do a fuller job, also, with racial minority problems, education, and cultural matters.

Both books, however, are accompanied by insufficient bibliographies. Beck and Williams do not even list the major current histories of the state, and Lavender seems to have a notion that Irving Stone's *Men to Match My Mountains* is one of these. Yet, Lavender (like Stone, not a professionally-trained historian) does a better job of listing both books and articles (albeit some trivial ones) than do Professors Beck and Williams. Neither book includes descriptive appraisals of sources, nor do they provide an author's index—as do two other recent California histories. As well, it is an inconvenience for both students and lay readers not to find bibliographical citations at the end of each chapter. Similarly, it would be helpful if Beck and Williams had identified the provenience of their photographic illustrations. Lavender provides no illustrations. Each volume does include usefully conceived maps.

Stylistically, Lavender's text is more spirited than Beck and Williams' rather sober prose, but the value of his narrative is offset by its shallower research depth. Lavender leans heavily upon a stylistic manner that features biographical speculation and racy sub-titles, as well as dramatic phrasing. Is readability thereby enhanced? One wonders how many persons unconsciously resent the purple passages. Yet, on occasion, Lavender can be cogent and analytic, and his prose is more controlled in the closing chapters. When compared to this obvious attempt at a popular format, Beck and Williams' longer book emerges as a more thorough and reliable work.

Late in the nineteenth century a keen-eyed visitor, Lord Bryce, saw the magnitude and power of California as more characteristic of a nation than of a state. Since his time its very name has come to symbolize economic, political, and cultural dominance of the American West. The writing of such a state's history cannot be taken lightly. The mere integration of an overwhelming body of monographic literature about California requires both persistence and specialized expertise. In addition to the judicious use of imagination, a comprehensive history of this most varied and populous state needs to feature balance and to seek depth of interpretation. Furthermore, fresh insights must rest upon verifiable data brought to life beyond the level of entertainment. Both pedantry, on the one hand, and descriptive and rambling narratives, on the other, have become a luxury in an over-published market.

Caught as the California historian is between the complications of fact and interpretation, Winston Churchill's words about the study of the past come to mind: "History with its flickering lamp stumbles along the trail of the past, trying to reconstruct its scenes, to revive its echoes, and kindle with pale gleams the passion of former days." In the writing of California's story (or that of any other land) we will not lose immediacy if we keep the scenes clear, the echoes muted, the gleams pale, yet not extinguish the passion of the past.

Historical Notes on Lower California with Some Relative to Upper California Furnished to the Bancroft Library. By Manuel C. Rojo, 1879. Translated and edited by Philip O. Gericke. (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1972. 172 pp. Illus. Appendix. Bibliography. \$20.00.)

Reviewed by W. MICHAEL MATHES, author and authority on the Spanish Californias, and Associate Professor of History, University of San Francisco.

MANUEL CLEMENTE ROJO, a Peruvian who settled in Todos Santos, Baja California, about 1849, had, by 1860, become a judge and the Jefe Político of the region, although revolution quickly ended his term of office by the latter part of that year. Rojo later served several governors until 1863 when he purchased the ex-mission of San Vicente Ferrer in the northern region of the peninsula. As a land owner, Rojo achieved political importance in the north, becoming Sub-Jefe Político of that region in 1868 and carrying out judicial reforms during his terms in office. Rojo died in Ensenada in 1900, having observed and participated in a half century of political activity on the peninsula.

Rojo's *Historical Notes* . . . were the result of his being contacted by Hubert Howe Bancroft to supply data for his *History of the North American States and Texas* which was being compiled in 1879. The manuscript, housed in the Bancroft Library, is appropriately titled, for it is a compilation of more or less random data relative to various events from 1810 to 1847, acquired from informants in written or verbal form, with

considerable latitude as to accuracy and objectivity, and is thus a pioneer effort in the field of oral history.

The first section of the notes deals with life in the Frontera, the northern region of the peninsula initially established by the Dominicans in 1774. Vignettes of military life, mission life in the later years, Indian rebellions in the 1830's and the characteristics of civil settlers in the area are presented. Rojo's nineteenth-century Mexican anticlericalism is much in evidence here, for although he is highly critical of the Dominican mission system, he fails to note that these missions were exempted from the secularization order of 1832 due to their importance as civilizing factors on the frontier.

Entitled a "Supplement to the Letters of the Reverend Mission Fathers," the second section of the notes neither supplements nor reproduces such letters. Rather, it deals with military life at Loreto, the problems of the Wars of Independence from 1810 to 1821, difficulties of municipal administration in Loreto, and persons involved in the civil settlement of La Paz.

Sections three through eight of the notes present vignettes of the terms in office as Jefes Políticos of Manuel Mata (1836), Luis del Castillo Negrete (1838-42), Francisco Padilla (1842-43), Mariano Garfias (1843-44), L. Maldonado (1844) and Francisco Placios Miranda (1844-47). With the exception of Castillo Negrete, these men are presented as despotic, corrupt, obscene and alcoholic; Palacios is further shown as a traitor during the United States occupation of La Paz in 1847. An appendix containing a eulogy of Doña Pilar Ortega de Argüello and a letter to one of Bancroft's historians, Henry L. Oak, follows the body of the text as does a brief general bibliography.

Although highly biased and limited in scope, Rojo's *Notes* are of value as additional material for the history of Baja California in the nineteenth century. The translation of the manuscript is very readable; however, annotations are somewhat sparse. The general reader is not well informed as to the causes for the many changes in government on the peninsula (revolutionary movements on the mainland), nor is he presented a concise overview of Baja California history which would permit the reading of the notes within some general framework. Apart from this shortcoming, as volume 26 of the Baja California Travels Series, *Historical Notes* . . . provides yet another excellently designed and printed source for the history of the peninsula.

The Donner Party. By George Keithley. (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1972. 254 pp. \$6.50.)

Reviewed by KENNETH LAMOTT, author of *Anti-California and Chronicle of San Quentin* and contributing book reviewer for numerous periodicals including *The New York Times Book Review*, *Book Week*, *Newsweek*.

GEORGE KEITHLEY HAS UNDERTAKEN an interesting and ambitious piece of work in *The Donner Party*. The ambition is clear enough—to write an epic poem memorializing the traumatic experience of the Donner party as it played out the tragedy that has given it a place in history and folklore like no other of the immigrant parties that crossed the Great American Basin, mounted the granite ramparts of the Sierra Nevada, and descended at last into the land of milk and honey.

The story is told by George Donner, a dirt farmer who, in the spring of 1846, left his fields in Illinois to lead a party that consisted, at its largest, of 29 men, 13 women, and 43 children, who followed him across the Mississippi, out of the United States, and along the trail to California. Given the usual hazards of such an enterprise,

the journey went well enough until, in July, the decision was made to leave the main trail and follow the so-called Hastings Cutoff south of the Great Salt Lake.

*Then we turned (Keithley writes)
our own teams
southwest and we drove for days
over
the dry ground where not one leaf
let its shade
fall to earth
and the wind in which the dust arose
gave no relief . . .*

It is interesting to speculate how the book would have been changed if Keithley's three-lined stanzas had been rendered into prose. Like this: *Then we turned our own teams southwest and we drove for days over the dry ground where not one leaf let its shade fall to earth and the wind in which the dust arose gave no relief.*

Little seems to be lost, for, alas, the poetry is, in the precise meaning of the word, *pedestrian*—serviceable but without inspiration, prosy and lacking in surprises.

This is the central difficulty with *The Donner Party* as a piece of literature, and yet, despite this failing, Keithley's story (he has added and subtracted for a story-teller's reasons) is remarkably effective. The character of George Donner, a good and decent man much attached to his wife and children, comes through clearly, as does the dark and ominous personality of Lewis Keseberg, whose brutality led to his banishment from the party but who was allowed to rejoin it later on, and whose name became a word of fear and loathing in California after the full story of what happened in the party's winter encampment became general knowledge.

Keithley handles the cannibalism theme deftly, introducing it with George Donner's conversational report that *Later he had to steal out at night / and dig him up to remove / what we could for meat. // Arms and leg at the start. / Then the heart and all / of his liver as well. // We would not have done this / but it was so long since anyone / had eaten a meal.*

In the end, *The Donner Party* comes through as a capable piece of work that revolves around a theme that is fit for Greek tragedy—the desperate plight of a decent man who, suffering from the disfavor of the gods, is plunged into a situation whose horror lies on the farther edge of our imagination. If only it moved us more!

The New York Volunteers in California. By Francis Clark and James Lynch. (Glorieta, New Mexico: The Rio Grande Press, Inc., 1970. 159 pp. Maps. Illus. Index. \$10.00.)

Reviewed by JOHN YATES, *writer of articles on naval history for his-
torical journals and author of a forthcoming biography of Henry
Wager Halleck.*

REGIMENTAL HISTORIES, whether officially authorized or assembled from individual journals and personal reminiscences, are rare commodities these days. The Rio Grande Press has rounded out their Mexican war coverage by combining in this new edition which is the 68th Rio Grande Classic, two classic volumes of a regiment's history.

The New York Volunteers in California is two volumes in one. *With Stevenson in California, 1846-1848* by James Lynch (of Company F) was first published in 1896

and reprinted in a slim volume in the 1960's; the first edition is one of the treasures of the California State Library. The second volume which also composes the new edition is *Stevenson's Regiment in California, 1847-1848* by Francis D. Clark; the first edition published in 1882 is in the possession of Lorrin Morrison, the publisher and editor of *Journal of the West*, who the Rio Grande publishers acknowledge as the individual who really inspired the combined edition.

Stevenson's 1st Regiment of New York Volunteers (raised as the 7th Regiment) was an extraordinary organization made up of volunteer soldier emigrants with a sprinkling of professional West Pointers as company commanders and staff officers and a colonel (Stevenson) who was a ward politician. The existence of the regiment as a military unit was short-lived but its contribution to the maintenance of law and order in the turbulent transitional period of the late forties in California, and the contribution of its members as civilians in later years to the growth of the new state, are important historical facts.

Lynch describes his reminiscences as "a brief history of the scenes and incidents during the most eventful period of my life" in an introduction and preface dated 1896. The span of fifty years seems not to have dulled his memory of his experiences with the regiment and the early days at the mines. However, minor incidents are confused, and he gets people mixed up and has them at the wrong place at the wrong time. The narrative is nevertheless fascinating and a remarkable record of an early pioneer.

Francis Clark wrote his journal (Volume II) in 1882 and his memory also has served him well. He is far more specific than Lynch, quotes official dispatches and newspaper articles of the period in full, and provides a wealth of detail on the make-up of the companies and the fortunes of the rank and file and their current activities and status.

The combination of these two rare volumes is good regimental history and another valuable addition to 'Californiana'—and it is fully indexed, which its components were not.

California Check List

PETER EVANS, CHS *librarian*

Bakker, Elna, and Richard G. Lillard. *The Great Southwest: The Story of a Land and Its People*. Palo Alto: American West Publishing Co. 1972. (\$17.50)

Bean, Walton. *California: An Interpretive History*, 2nd ed. New York: McGraw-Hill. 1973. (\$10.95)

Bean, Lowell John, and Katherine Siva Saubel. *Temalpakh: Cabuilla Indian Knowledge and Usage of Plants*. Banning, Calif.: Malki Museum Press. 1972. (\$10.00)

Beck, Warren A., and Ynez D. Haase. *Historical Atlas of California*. Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press. 1973. (price?)

Bollens, John C., and Grant B. Geyer. *Yorby: Politics of a Constant Candidate*. Pacific Palisades, Calif.: Palisades Publishers. 1973. (\$6.95)

Bond, J. Max. *The Negro in Los Angeles* (1936 dissertation). San Francisco: R & E Research Associates. reprint 1972. (\$9.00)

Bosworth, Elsie. *Growth Rings*. Fall River Mills, Calif.: Fort Crook Historical Society. 1973. —P.O. Box 432, Fall River Mills, CA 96028 (price?)

Bowman, Alan P. *Index to the 1850 Census of the State of California*. Baltimore: Genealogical Publications. 1972. —521 St. Paul Pl., Baltimore, Md. 21202 (\$25.00)

Briggs, Peter. *Will California Really Fall into the Sea*. New York: David McKay Co., Inc. 1972 (\$7.95)

Brown, W. S. *A Historical Study of the Portuguese in California* (1944 thesis). San Francisco: R & E Research Associates. reprint 1972. —4843 Mission St., San Francisco, CA 94112 (\$7.00)

California Dept. of Industrial Relations. *Facts About Filipino Immigration into California* (1930). San Francisco: R & E Research Associates. reprint 1972. 4843 Mission St., San Francisco, CA 94112 (\$6.00)

- Corle, Edwin. *Death Valley and the Creek Called Furnace*. Photographs by Ansel Adams. Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie. 1973. (\$3.95)
- Crawford, William P. *Sea Marine Atlas: Southern California*. San Francisco: Miller Freeman Publications, Inc. 1972. —500 Howard St., San Francisco, CA 94105 (\$10.95)
- Daniels, Roger, and Spencer C. Olin. *Racism in California: A Reader in the History of Oppression*. New York: Macmillan. 1972. (\$4.95)
- Dillon, Richard. *Embarcadero* (Comstock ed.). New York: Ballantine. 1973. (\$1.50)
- Dodge, Robert, and Joseph McCullough. *From Manhattan to Alcatraz: Writings About the American Indian*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc. 1973. (\$8.95)
- Easton, Robert. *Black Tide: The Santa Barbara Oil Spill and Its Consequences*. New York: Delacorte Press. 1972. (\$10.00)
- Elliott, W. W. *Reproduction of W. W. Elliott's History of San Bernardino and San Diego Counties*. Riverside: Riverside Museum Press. n.d. —3720 Orange St., Riverside, CA 92501 (\$12.00)
- Eterovich, Adam S. *Yugoslavs in Nevada, 1859-1900*. San Francisco: R & E Research Associates. 1972. —4843 Mission St., San Francisco, CA 94112 (\$7.00)
- Fink, Augusta. *Monterey: The Presence of the Past*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books. 1972. (\$9.95)
- Flora, Dan, and Paul Jones. *Great Escapes: A Guide for Weekend Escapes from the Bay Area*. San Francisco: Great Escapes Publications. 1972. —1671 Greenwich St., #4, San Francisco, CA 94123 (\$2.25)
- Foley, Doris. *Divine Eccentric* (Comstock ed.). New York: Ballantine. 1973. (\$1.25)
- Forbes, Elizabeth Snyder, et al. *History of John Snyder and His Holdings*. Mountain View: Mountain View Pioneer and Historical Association. 1973. —P.O. Box 252, Mountain View, CA 94040 (\$1.00)
- Frisbie, Mabel Moores, and Jean Moores Beauchamp. *Shasta: The Queen City*. San Francisco: California Historical Society. 1973. (\$4.95 paper, \$10.00 cloth)
- Gallo, Philip S. *Guidebook to Saltwater Fishing in Southern California*. Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie. 1973. (\$1.95)
- Greever, William S. *Bonanza West: The Story of the Western Mining Rushes, 1848-1900*. Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press. 1973. (\$3.95)
- Gutiérrez, José Angel. *La Raza and Revolution* (1968 thesis). San Francisco: R & E Research Associates. reprint 1972. —4843 Mission St., San Francisco, CA 94112 (\$7.00)
- Hansen, Gladys, ed. *San Francisco: A Guide to the Bay and Its Cities*, rev. ed. New York: Hastings House. 1973. (\$12.50)
- Harding, George L. *Charles A. Murdock, Printer & Citizen of San Francisco: An Appraisal*. Berkeley: Tamalpais Press. 1973. (price ?)
- Harrington, John P. *Karuk Indian Myths*. Ramona: Ballena Press. reprint 1972. —P.O. Box 711, Ramona, CA 92065 (\$2.00)
- Hine, Robert V. *California's Utopian Colonies*. New York: Norton, W. W. & Company. 1973. (\$2.45 paper)
- Hine, Robert V., and Savoie Lottinville. *Soldier in the West: Letters of Theodore Talbot During His Services in California, Mexico, and Oregon, 1845-53*. Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press. 1972. (\$7.95)
- Irwin, William Hyde. *Augusta Bixler Farms: A California Delta Farm from Reclamation to the Fourth Generation of Owners*. n.p.: William Hyde Irwin and the August Bixler Farms. 1973. —P.O. Box 189, Brookdale, CA 95007 (\$10.00)
- Isham, Giles S. *Guide to California & The Mines*. Fairfield: Ye Galleon Press. 1972. —Box 400, Fairfield, Washington 99012 (\$9.00)
- Japanese Assoc. of the Pacific Northwest. *Japanese Immigration: An Exposition of Its Real Status* (1907). San Francisco: R & E Research Associates. reprint 1972. —4843 Mission St., San Francisco, CA 94112 (\$5.00)
- Johnson, Russ, and Anne Johnson. *Paiutes in the Sierra Shadows*. Bishop: Chalfant Press, Inc. 1973. —Box 787, 405 East Line St., Bishop, CA 93514 (price ?)
- Jones, Ken D., and Arthur F. McClure. *Hollywood at War: The American Motion Picture & World War II*. Cranbury, N. J.: A. S. Barnes & Co. 1973. (\$15.00)
- Joy, Emmett P. *Chronicles of San Andreas*. Murphys: Old Timer's Museum. 1972. —Murphys, CA 95247 (\$2.25)
- Klotz, Esther H., et al. *A History of Citrus*. Riverside: Riverside Museum Press. n.d. —3720 Orange Street, Riverside, CA 92501 (\$2.50)
- Lamb, Frank. *Indian Baskets*. Riverside: Riverside Museum Press. n.d. —3720 Orange Street, Riverside, CA 92501 (\$8.50)
- Leighly, John. *California as an Island*. San Francisco: The Book Club of California. 1972. (\$55.00 plus tax to members)
- Leu, Anna Jagels. *The Schools of Mountain View, 1852-1970*. Mountain View: City of Mountain View. n.d. —Mountain View Pioneer and Historical Assn., P.O. Box 252, Mountain View, CA 94040 (\$1.00)

- Lockwood, Frank C. *With Padre Kino on the Trail*. Ramona: Ballena Press. 1973. —P.O. Box 711, Ramona, CA 92065 (\$3.95)
- Los Altos Reminiscences*. Cupertino: California History Center. n.d. —De Anza College, 21250 Stevens Creek Blvd., Cupertino, CA 95014 (\$2.50)
- Maunder, Elwood R., and Amelia R. Fry, eds. *Emanuel Fritz: Teacher, Editor, and Forestry Consultant—An Oral History Interview*. Santa Cruz: Forest History Society and Bancroft Library. 336 pp. Illus. App. Index. 1972. —P.O. Box 1581, Santa Cruz, CA 95060 (\$47.50)
- Meier, Matt S., and Feliciano Rivera. *A Bibliography for Chicano History*. San Francisco: R & E Research Associates. 1972. —4843 Mission St., San Francisco, CA 94112 (\$5.00 cloth; \$3.00 soft)
- Miller, Max. *California's Secret Islands*. New York: Ballantine. 1972. (\$1.25)
- Monaghan, Jay. *Chile, Peru and the California Gold Rush of 1849*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press. June 1973. (\$11.95)
- Murphy, Tom A. *50 Northern California Bicycle Trips*. Beaverton, Oregon: Touchstone Press. 1972 (\$3.95)
- Neasham, V. Aubrey. *Wild Legacy*. Berkeley: Howell-North. 1973. (\$6.50)
- Ng, Pearl. *Writings on the Chinese in California* (1939 thesis). San Francisco: R & E Research Associates. reprint 1972. —4843 Mission St., San Francisco, CA 94112 (\$7.00)
- Orange County Local History, 1869-1971: A Preliminary Bibliography*. Santa Ana: Saddleback Books. 1972. —The Book Center, 207 N. Main St., Santa Ana, CA 92701 (\$2.35)
- Ortega, Samuel. *The Religious Status of the Mexican Population of Los Angeles* (1932 thesis). San Francisco: R & E Research Associates. reprint 1972. —4843 Mission St., San Francisco, CA 94112 (\$7.00)
- Palmer, Albert W. *Oriental in American Life* (1934). San Francisco: R & E Research Associates. reprint 1972. —4843 Mission St., San Francisco, CA 94112 (\$10.00)
- Pierce, Neal R. *The Megastates of America: People, Politics, and Power in the Ten Great States*. New York: W. W. Norton. 1972. (\$12.95)
- Pierce, Richard A., ed. *Rezanov Reconnoiters California, 1806*. San Francisco: The Book Club of California. 1972. (\$24.00)
- Pineda, Manuel, and E. Caswell Perry. *Pasadena Area History*. Pasadena: Soldado Publications. 1972. —418 N. Glendale Ave., Glendale, CA 91206 (\$32.50)
- Priestley, Herbert Ingram, trans. *A Historical, Political, and Natural Description of California by Pedro Fages, Soldier of Spain*. Ramona: Ballena Press. reprint 1972. —P.O. Box 711, Ramona, CA 92065 (\$3.95)
- Rasmussen, Louis J. *California Wagon Train Lists, Vol. 1*. Colma: San Francisco Historic Records. 1972. —1204 Nimitz Dr., Colma, CA 94014 (\$10.25)
- Ratay, Myra Sauer. *Pioneers of the Ponderosa: How Washoe Valley Rescued the Cattle*. Sparks: Western Printing & Publishing Co. March 1973. —P.O. Box 601, 1845 Prater Way, Sparks, Nevada 89431 (\$15.00 plus tax and 50¢ postage)
- Ross, Ruth A., and Barbara S. Stone. *California's Political Process*. New York: Random House, Inc. 1972. (\$2.95)
- Ross, Thomas E., and Carol Ross. *Great Bike Rides in Northern California*. Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie. 1973. (\$1.95)
- Shaffer, Harry E. *A Garden Grows in Eden: The Centennial Story of San Leandro*. San Leandro: San Leandro Historical-Centennial Committee. 1972. —Casa Peralta, 384 West Estudillo Ave., San Leandro, CA 94577 (price ?)
- Sienkiewicz, Henryk. *Western Septet: Seven Stories of the American West*. Translated by Marion M. Coleman; including "Sienkiewicz and Anaheim," by Ellen K. Lee. Cheshire: Cherry Hill Books. 1973. —202 Highland Ave., Cheshire, Conn. 06410 (\$5.00)
- Smith, J. Alfred. *Thus Far by Faith: History of Black Churches in California*. Oakland: Color Art Press. 1973. —Allen Temple Baptist Church, 8500 A Street, Oakland, CA 94621 (\$5.00)
- Starr, M. *The Coming Struggle: Or What the People on the Pacific Coast Think of the Coolie Invasion (1873)*. San Francisco: R & E Research Associates. reprint 1972. —4843 Mission St., San Francisco, CA 94112 (\$6.00)
- Sylvia, Seville. *Foreigners in the California Gold Rush* (1932 thesis). San Francisco: R & E Research Associates. reprint 1972. —4843 Mission St., San Francisco, CA 94112 (\$7.00)
- Wallovis, Sonia. *Filipinos in California* (1966 thesis). San Francisco: R & E Research Associates. reprint 1972. —4843 Mission St., San Francisco, CA 94112 (\$7.00)
- Walters, Robert E. *Cruising the California Delta*, new ed. San Francisco: Miller Freeman Publications, Inc. 1972. —500 Howard St., San Francisco, CA 94105 (\$9.50)
- Watkins, T. H. *California: An Illustrated History*. Palo Alto: American West Publishing Co. 1973. (prepub. price \$19.95)
- Welles, Annette. *The Los Angeles Guide Book*. Los Angeles: Sherbourne Press. 1972. (\$4.95)

Book of Remembrance

On view in the Society's Mansion is a finely bound "Book of Remembrance," recording the names of persons in whose memory contributions have been made to the Library Fund. Below are the names that have been inscribed for 1972.

1972

George Adrian Applegarth
Fred Hathaway Bixby
Bell Bowen
William Wright Buckwalter
William Ely Chambers
Eva May Childs
Edith M. Clark
Gertrude Clark
Chester R. F. Cramer
Lera Githens Crawford
Chris Crow
Florence Favier
Anna Lota Fusco
Joseph S. Fusco
Caroline Theresa Garrecht
William Louis Gilman
Roy Dent Halbert
Jesse Rexford Hall
Ruth Koshland Hellman
John D. Hicks
Helen Andross Hinner
John Edgar Hoover
Walter LeRoy Huber
Louis D. Janin
Mildred Lansing Keane

Alexander Stanislaus Keenan, Jr.
George Cleveland Kyte
Everett S. Layman, Sr.
Edwin R. Leach
Sylvan J. Lisberger
Clarence McCulloch
Myrtle van Orden McKevitt
Ruth Virginia Clayton McMillan
Fannie E. Martinez
Woodward J. Martinez
Blanshard Bayley Maynard
Orville Morrison
Philip Pierpont
Helen Ruth Rosenberg
Milton V. Sarkisian
Lorna Schmetgen
Herbert C. Schoning
Florence Victoria Ireland Sloss
Sidney Stevens
Irene Stewart
Jeanette Killebrew Swank
John Robert Ward
William B. Weston
Albert J. Whitfield
Jean C. Witter

Roster of Sponsoring Members, 1973

CENTENNIAL MEMBERS

MR. and MRS. EARL C. ADAMS, <i>San Marino</i>	MRS. PRESTON HOTCHKIS, <i>San Marino</i>
MR. and MRS. KENNETH K. BECHTEL, <i>Kentfield</i>	MR. and MRS. WARREN R. HOWELL, <i>San Francisco</i>
S. D. BECHTEL FOUNDATION, <i>San Francisco</i>	ELIZABETH BIXBY JANEWAY, <i>Pasadena</i>
MR. and MRS. HENRY MILLER BOWLES, <i>San Francisco</i>	MR. and MRS. LEROY KRUSI, <i>Danville</i>
MR. and MRS. ROYAL ROBERT BUSH, <i>Santa Barbara</i>	MRS. CATHERINE PORTER, <i>Pasadena</i>
RICHARD M. GRIFFITH, <i>Belvedere</i>	MR. and MRS. DAVID POTTER, <i>San Francisco</i>
MR. and MRS. PETER HAAS, <i>San Francisco</i>	MR. and MRS. ROBERT H. POWER, <i>Nut Tree</i>
MR. and MRS. J. S. HOLLIDAY, <i>Lafayette</i>	MR. and MRS. JOHN B. RITCHIE, <i>San Francisco</i>
DR. ALBERT SHUMATE, <i>San Francisco</i>	

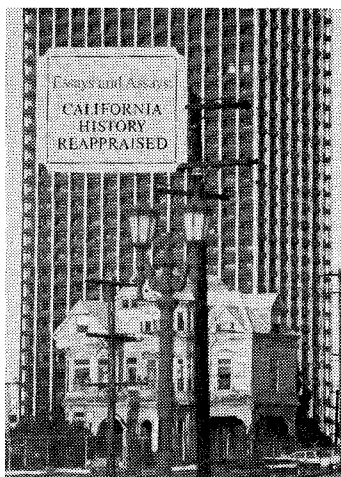
ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

<i>Anderson, Ritchie & Simon</i>	<i>Industrial Indemnity Foundation</i>
<i>The R. C. Baker Foundation</i>	<i>McCone Foundation</i>
<i>Bank of America N. T. & S. A.</i>	<i>Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith, Inc.</i>
<i>The Bank of California, N. A.</i>	<i>Wilson & Geo. Meyer & Co.</i>
<i>Bechtel Corporation</i>	<i>The Newhall Land and Farming Company</i>
<i>Becker Manufacturing Company</i>	<i>Pacific Gas and Electric Company</i>
<i>Bekins Van & Storage Company</i>	<i>Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Co.</i>
<i>Bixby Ranch Company</i>	<i>Parrott & Co.</i>
<i>Blake, Moffitt & Towne</i>	<i>Patrick & Co.</i>
<i>James G. Boswell Foundation</i>	<i>Peninsula Newspapers Incorporated</i>
<i>John Breuner Company</i>	<i>Pope & Talbot, Inc.</i>
<i>Buena Vista Farms, Inc.</i>	<i>Ritchie & Ritchie</i>
<i>Butterfield & Butterfield</i>	<i>San Francisco Commercial Club</i>
<i>California Portland Cement Company</i>	<i>San Jose Mercury-News</i>
<i>Citizens Federal Savings & Loan Assoc.</i>	<i>Southern Pacific Company</i>
<i>Crocker National Bank</i>	<i>Spanish National Tourist Office</i>
<i>H. S. Crocker Co., Inc.</i>	<i>Standard Oil Company of California</i>
<i>Crowley Launch and Tugboat Co.</i>	<i>Stauffer Chemical Company</i>
<i>De Laval Turbine California Inc.</i>	<i>Levi Strauss Foundation</i>
<i>Del Monte Corporation</i>	<i>Title Insurance and Trust Company</i>
<i>Dodge & Cox</i>	<i>Transamerica Corporation</i>
<i>Fred J. Early, Jr. Foundation</i>	<i>Tubbs Cordage Company</i>
<i>Flax's</i>	<i>Union Sugar Division, Consolidated Foods Corporation</i>
<i>FMC Corporation</i>	<i>United California Bank</i>
<i>Fireman's Fund Insurance Co.</i>	<i>Weibel Champagne Vineyards</i>
<i>N. Gray & Company</i>	<i>Wells Fargo Bank</i>
<i>Hill and Co.</i>	<i>Whisler / Patri Associates</i>
<i>Hills Bros. Coffee, Inc.</i>	<i>Dean Witter & Co.</i>
<i>Holt Bros.</i>	<i>Yosemite Park & Curry Co.</i>
<i>John Howell—Books</i>	
<i>Howell-North Books</i>	

chs books

New Titles from the California Historical Society

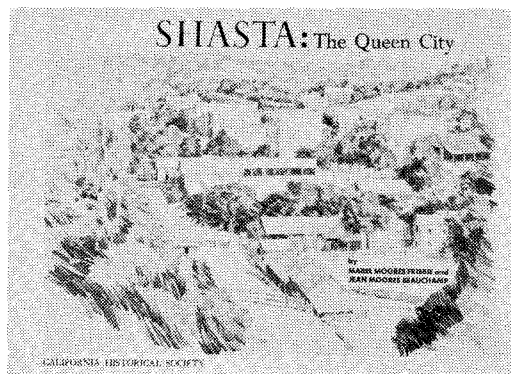
Three new additions to the Society's distinguished line of books carry forward a century-long tradition of fine design, lively text, and authoritative content.



ESSAYS AND ASSAYS: California History Reappraised Edited by George H. Knoles

Many books and many assumptions ago, California's origins and pioneers and growth were laid out by historians. But history has no gospel, and in this fresh look at California's past, nine essays tell of other ways to see what happened and what we have done to the past and present of California. 144 pages, photographs, paper \$4.95.

SHASTA: The Queen City By Mabel Moores Frisbie and Jean Moores Beauchamp.



This beguiling new book on old Shasta is graced with the drawings of a prominent Redding artist, Mabel Moores Frisbie, with text by her daughter. The red brick walls of today come alive as the thriving city of the 1850s. Cloth—regular price: \$10.00/members: \$8.50. Paper: \$4.95. 96 pages. Published jointly with the Shasta Historical Society.

THE WEST REMEMBERED Artists and Images: 1873-1973 By Joseph A. Baird, Jr.

Descriptive catalog of an exhibit of Western art and sculpture presented by the CHS at the reopening of the U.S. Mint in San Francisco, June 1973. 88 pages, photographs, 13 in full color, paper \$3.00. Members price, \$2.00.

Order from your bookstore or

California Historical Society

2090 JACKSON STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94109

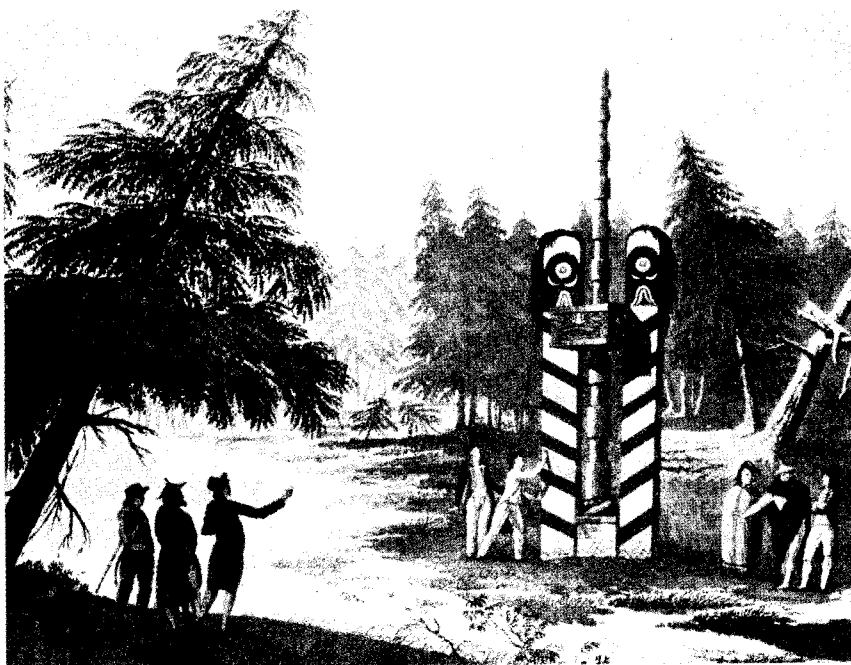
New from Yale

Flood Tide of Empire

Spain and the Pacific Northwest, 1543-1819

by Warren L. Cook

From the 16th to the 18th centuries Spain explored, and tried to claim, most of the Pacific coast of the New World from Tierra del Fuego to Alaska. The outcome of these efforts were decided not through confrontations at Nootka Sound but through politics and the press in England, debate in the French National Assembly, and intrigues at the court of Spain. Professor Cook paints a detailed and colorful picture of the history of the Northwest, based on much new information from archives in Madrid, Mexico City, and Santa Fe. It is a tale of diplomatic power plays, backstairs palace intrigue, and espionage in high places, culminating in repeated Spanish attempts to capture Lewis and Clark. A History Book Club Selection \$17.50

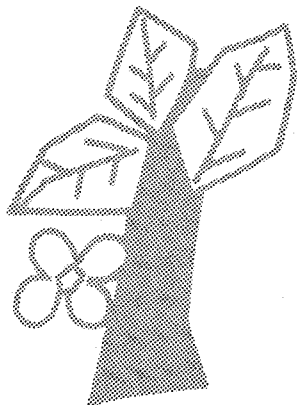


Yale University Press

New Haven and London

**"If you would understand California
you must know Kevin Starr's original
and brilliant analysis of its cultural,
social and literary history."**

— JOSEPH L. ALIOTO



Americans and the California Dream

1850-1915

By Kevin Starr

California's formative years — and its unique role in American development — are vividly re-created in this highly readable, anecdotal book. Drawn from accounts by the people themselves — miners, farmers, ranchers, educators, businessmen, socialites, philosophers, writers, artists, and eccentrics — it traces the growth of California's distinctive and fascinating society.

"An intellectually exciting and colorfully narrated account of that which lies behind contemporary California. . . . It should become a classic book on California."

— JAMES D. HART, University of California, Berkeley

480 pages • 30 halftones • \$12.50

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

200 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016

*The Anza Expeditions from Mexico to California, and the Founding
of San Francisco: 1774 to 1776*

ANZA CONQUERS THE DESERT

"The hardships and heroism of these explorations into the unknown and geographically forbidding Southwest are eloquently narrated by both the author and the participants, the diaries of Anza and Font excerpted within the narrative ... A handsome volume."—Books of the Southwest.

"... A dramatic presentation of the two epic overland expeditions led by Juan Bautista de Anza in 1774-1776 from northern Mexico to California, culminating in the founding of the Presidio of San Francisco. ... A most desirable volume." — W. W. Robinson, Westways.

By Richard F. Pourade
Commissioned by James S. Copley

"The story of these expeditions is told primarily through the diaries of Anza, Font and others, excerpts of which have been skillfully woven into the text. These excerpts contain a wealth of historical, geographical, ethnological and scientific data which are explained and amplified within the text ... good reading and good history, nicely presented." — W. Michael Mathes, Professor of History, University of San Francisco.

50 pages of
illustrations
25 in full color

8 1/2" x 11"
208 Pages

\$12.50



Presidio of San Francisco Founding

COPILEY BOOKS

P.O. BOX 270
SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA 92112
Telephone (714) 233-1877

LOS ALTOS REMINISCENCES



Local History Studies California History Center

On behalf of the California History Center, we wish to dedicate this quarterly, *Los Altos Reminiscences*, to Otto Brubaker and those early members of his generation.

Fall 1972 publication of Local History Studies.

Price: \$2.50

Available from: The California History Center

DE ANZA COLLEGE

21250 Stevens Creek Blvd.

Cupertino, California 95014

